MEMOIRS AND SPEECHES OF LOCKE CRAIG

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA - 1913-1917

A HISTORY - POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE

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LOCKE CRAIG

MEMOIRS AND SPEECHES

OF

LOCKE CRAIG

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

1913-1917

—||—

A History—Political and Otherwise

From Scrap Books and Old Manuscripts

Edited By May F. Jones

1923
HACKNEY & MOALE COMPANY
ASHEVILLE

TO:

My son, Locke Craig, Jr., who has been the redeeming grace of my years of affliction. At all times and in all ways he has ministered to me, not as a duty, but as a peculiar pleasure. Whether at boyish play, or waking from the sweet sleep of childhood, he has ever heard my call swiftly and with gladness. By this devotion he will be blessed in the growth and beauty of an unselfish character.

As an alabaster box of precious ointment he has been to my life, and I hope that it will be told as a memorial of him too.

LOCKE CRAIG.

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This book is the work of Miss May F. Jones. While Governor of North Carolina, she was my Private Secretary, and kept a scrap book of my public utterances and incidents of my administration. I have turned over to her this scrap book and all my manuscripts with full confidence in her ability, her culture and interest. She has generously offered to prepare these for the press, and can do this most efficiently.

While Governor, and during the years of my illness, she has been my loyal friend. I, and my family, owe her an inestimable debt of love and gratitude.

LOCKE CRAIG.

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GOVERNOR CRAIG

"The career of Ex-Governor Locke Craig," is the title to an interesting article regarding the life of one of Buncombe's honored sons, which was written by Artus M. Moser and appeared in The Carolina Magazine.

Governor Craig, who maintains his residence near the Old Hickory Highway, overlooking the Swannanoa River, is one of the twenty-two Governors of North Carolina which the State University has produced. Mr. Moser, in his article, gives a few reminiscences of Governor Craig's college days, as well as the things he did after leaving the University. The article follows in full:

"Prominent among the great men, who in their early days, walked beneath these sturdy campus oaks and studied in these ancient halls, is Ex-Governor Locke Craig, Governor of North Carolina from 1913 to 1917.

"The Craigs were originally from the romantic land of Scotland. The parental ancestor, William Craig, was born there, and came to this country in 1749, and settled in Orange County. He had three sons, John, David and James, ardent patroits and soldiers in the Revolutionary War. John was the grandfather of Andrew Craig, and the great grandfather of Locke Craig.

"Andrew Craig, the father of Locke Craig, was an honor graduate from the University, and though born of Presbyterian family, he became a Baptist minister of great influence, power and eloquence. He was a scholarly man of fine tastes and literary attainments. His life was spotless and his large generous and amiable nature caused him to be loved and admired by all with whom he came in contact.

"The mother of Locke Craig was Rebecca Gilliam Craig. She was a fine type of womanhood, strong minded, handsome and helpful; gentle and gracious in disposition. She numbered her friends by the score, and neither she nor her husband ever knew what it meant to have an enemy. She was essentially a home-loving wife and mother, and her chief purpose in life was to make happiness for her husband and children. The Civil War ended, Mr. Craig died, leaving Mrs.

Craig a widow, with a small estate and two boys not yet in their teens to be educated. It was a time of reconstruction, depression and confusion, but her heroism, fortitude and clearness of vision fitted her well for the task.

"Locke Craig was born in a modest home in Bertie County, August 16, 1860, just in the beginning of the struggle between the North and South. His boyhood days were spent on the farm amid a healthful and wholesome environment. Until he was fourteen years of age he attended the common schools of Bertie County. At this age his mother sent him to Henderson, to the Horner School, where he finished preparing himself for college. When he was at the early age of fifteen, he entered the University of North Carolina with the Class of 1880. He was the youngest student in the institution, and while the years had been few he was exceedingly ambitious and had taken advantage of every opportunity to improve himself and make a mark for himself in the world. At the university he was among several of the future great men of the State, such as Aycock, Francis D. Winston, R. W. Winston, McIver, Alderman, and others. He has been found ever since among the greatest of the great men of the State. While at the university he was a prominent member of the Philanthropic Society, in which he held various offices, including that of President. He was an able speaker and at commencement was elected commencement orator without opposition. He was also an excellent writer, being considered the best in his class. He was a diligent student, always devoted to duty. While here he studied law, and before he had reached his twentieth birthday he was graduated from the university with the honors of his class, the youngest graduate of the institution.

"Finishing his work in the university he was appointed Assistant Professor of Chemistry for one year. He evidently liked teaching, for we find that during the next session he taught in a private school in Chapel Hill. But he was not satisfied with the lowlands of Orange County, so he decided to go to the land of promise beyond the Blue Ridge, amid the highlands of Buncombe. So in 1883 Locke Craig located in Asheville. He intended to practice law, but found that clients

were less plentiful than attorneys, and expenses had to be met. So teaching again appealed to him and for a while he taught in a school there. In 1891 he began the practice of law in earnest, and soon took his place among the most popular and ablest. He soon became a potential factor in the material and political life of the growing mountain city. He was soon making speeches, telling anecdotes and catching the spirit of the mountaineers. Asheville was then in the Ninth Congressional District and in 1892 Craig was the Democratic Elector from that District. Four years later he was named as Elector at Large. This campaign offered him the first real opportunity to show his ability and leadership. By his brilliant canvass of the State for the presidential candidate, William J. Bryan, he established his reputation as an orator and from the mountains to the sea he presented his cause to the people. The Republican Party was at that time in control of Buncombe County by a majority of 600, but when he was nominated in 1898 by the Democrats for the Legislature from Buncombe, he was elected by a majority of 700, reversing the Republican majority of 600. This only goes to show his great popularity in both parties. The General Assembly of 1899 is now considered as one of the remarkable gatherings in the history of the State. Men of great ability were gathered together from every section of the State. Among them Locke Craig easily took his place as one of the ablest and foremost.

"The campaign of 1900 came on and he was again elected by an increased majority. This campaign is yet remembered by the mountain people as one of the fiercest and most exciting ever held in that section of the State. Charles B. Aycock, a former classmate of Craig's, opened the campaign at Laurinburg. The two great men were together on the opening day, both advocating the same things for the progress and advancement of the Old North State.

"In 1903 Locke Craig was a candidate for the United States Senate, but in the convention system of election he was defeated. Had it been by popular vote as now he would have been elected by a good majority. However, like Lincoln, he may have lost the senatorship, but he laid the foundation for an office which offered him an opportunity for still greater

service to his fellowman. During the interval from 1903 to 1912 he practiced law in Asheville. In addition to his law practice he also did some farming.

"In 1912 he was elected Governor of North Carolina. His election marked the culmination of the dreams of the 'mountain men' as well as other men in whatever section of the State. All were pleased to bestow this honor upon him, and he accepted it with gladness, because it offered him a still greater opportunity to serve the State and Nation. During the campaign wherever he spoke the people came for miles to hear him, and he was greeted by ovation after ovation as he toured the State.

"Locke Craig was inaugurated as the State's Chief Executive on January 15, 1913, and held his office until 1917, during the greater part of the World War. In constructive achievements his administration has not been surpassed, if ever equalled, since Vance rebuilt the Commonwealth upon the ruins of the reconstruction days. In the first sentence of his inaugural address, he uttered the watchword of his entire administration in the phrase, 'The Pledge of Progress.' It would be out of place in an article of this length to attempt to recount and dwell on all the measures for progress and advancement which were accomplished under his leadership. In everything—in education, in agriculture, in manufacturing—the State went forward. One of the outstanding things was the adjustment of interstate freight rates, which enabled North Carolina to compete with other States. The saving to North Carolinians has amounted to millions of dollars, and greatly aided commercial and industrial enterprises. Next was the improvement of our public highways, and the establishing of the good roads movement. This movement swept the entire State, and Governor Craig became known as the 'Good Roads Governor.' The rate of improvement was set and the spirit of this movement is still abroad in the land—the State is still building good roads. A third and notable achievement under the leadership of Governor Craig was the purchase and preservation of Mount Mitchell, which was secured by the State to be used as a State Park. As time goes on the wisdom of this act will become more and more evident.

Mount Mitchell, in Yancey County, is the highest point east of the Rocky Mountains. The fine balsam and spruce forests on its summit and on its sides were at that time beginning to be cut for lumber. To preserve the original beauty of this lofty peak and its nearby forests, a commission was appointed by Governor Craig, which, with an appropriation from the Legislature, purchased a 1200-acre tract, in the possession of which the State may well take pride.

"Another notable act was that which regulated the industry and conservation of the fishing business in Eastern North Carolina, where the industry will become increasingly important as the years go by.

"Governor Craig left the governor's chair having literally spent his energy and strength in the service of the people. But he had achieved that for which he was elected, with a great deal of credit to himself and the entire approbation of the people of the State.

"Governor Craig now lives at his home, a few miles from Asheville, near the beautiful Swannanoa River. His life is more retired than in some days. He is devoted to his home, family and church. He has a wife and three sons, Carlyle, George and Arthur. One of the boys, George Craig, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, is practicing law in Asheville and is achieving success.

"In personal appearance Locke Craig is of medium height, possessing a fine intellectual brow and face, heavy eyebrows, dark penetrating eyes, and firm lips and chin. He presents a very impressive appearance, and possesses a wonderful magnetism. I have seen the crowd 'go wild' on sight of him, the applause and cheers lasting unusually long. As an orator, he is a master. His voice is inspiring and thrilling, and the audience is soon lost in his eloquence. The University and North Carolina love, admire, and honor Locke Craig."

NOTE: The above sketch, which appeared also in The Asheville Citizen, was highly appreciated by Governor Craig, but through inadvertence, the author omitted the most important of events in the life of the Governor, and that was the birth of Locke Craig, Jr., November 11, 1914, in The Mansion, at Raleigh.

In addition to the above it is worthy of note that at the commencement exercises of the State University in 1915, the Governor was honored with the degree of LL.D., which honor from his Alma Mater he always highly appreciated.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH ON THE TARIFF

NOTE: This speech was made at Big Ivy, Buncombe County, North Carolina, during the second campaign of President Cleveland, in which the Tariff was the issue. This is the first political speech made by Locke Craig. He was at that time twenty-eight years of age, and engaged in the practice of law in Asheville.

(From The Asheville Citizen, Oct. 28, 1888)

When the Saracens invaded Africa they found in one of the provinces an immense Idol in monstrous human shape, and uglier than the devil. But, nevertheless, in their superstition the natives worshipped it and thanked it prayerfully for everything good that they received, and when anything bad happened to them they attributed it to something else. And the old thing was hollow, and for ages the people, poor as they were, had given to it their money and their treasure and jewels and whatever was best they had. When the Saracen soldiers told them that this old thing was no god, but a fetich, and that they were a set of fools for worshipping it, they thought these soldiers guilty of blasphemy and that the first one that dared to lay his hand on it would be stricken dead, and the whole army, too, for the sacrilege; and so they stood in breathless awe. But when blow after blow had been stricken, and the old thing's sides were broken in, and yet the heavens and the earth were as firm and peaceful as ever, and nobody hurt at all, the people began to think sure enough it was no god, and they rose up and helped the soldiers to tear down the old thing and burn it up. And the vast treasures which had been accumulating for ages in its hollow sides were distributed among the poor of that country.

Now we have just such an Idol in this country and they have named it Protection; and Jas. G. Blaine is the great High Priest in the temple Monopoly, and Benjamin and Levi are the chief priests, and Lusk and Ewart and Hardwicke are the altar boys; and whenever the country is prosperous and everything goes on well and we have peace and fine weather and good crops, James, the High Priest, says solemnly, "O Goddess Protection! we know that thou art the giver of every good and perfect gift, our only salvation, and that thou hast de-

livered us from lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence and famine; from battle and murder and from sudden death." And Benjamin and Levi and Virgil and Hardwicke echo Amen! and all the Republican congregation cry Amen! and of course the colored brother, although he doesn't know what all this big talk about tariff and protection means, will never be outdone, especially in any religious demonstration, so he shouts "Amen! Brer Jeems and Brer Wergil, say dat agin."

And so, my countrymen, in this way these Republican leaders are taking advantage of the ignorance of these poor deluded people of this country and fooling them out of their money, and the products of their toil, and the substance of their living. Yes, slaves to this miserable fetich of "Protection" they are marching up in solid phalanx and pouring into the old hollow thing all that they have by hard labor, though they are needy, though they are ragged, though sometimes they are haggard and hungry, though their wives are shivering with cold, and though their little ones are crying for bread. But the wealth doesn't remain in this Idol as it did in the one in Africa, for they have cut a hole in the back of this fetich, and there, out of sight of the poor ragged congregation, Carnegie and Jay Gould and these monopolists are taking the money out just as fast as the deluded people put it in, and they count their wealth by millions, and live in marble palaces and wear purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day, while the people who have made this money are dragged down to the lowest depths of poverty and despair. But while this game of deception and thievery is going on, there enters their temple of Monopoly, unceremoniously, a man who will not bow to the Idol, who will not say Amen, he is not afraid of the anathemas of James the High Priest, nor of all the worshippers of Protection combined. Yes, he may appoint some negroes to office and do some other things that we do not like, but he is a man "a very man—with all his dross he is a man, real, from the bosom of nature herself." He defies the fetich; he tells the congregation and all the people of the world that Protection is no god, but a fetich, a hollow sham, a miserable lie, and that he will tear it down. In holy horror all men expect that he will be stricken dead. But he is

stronger than ever, for even James, the High Priest, trembles, declines the contest, but exhorts Benjamin and Levi to have courage. Struck dead! the old fetich totters; a grateful people hail him chief with shouts of victory and crown him with immortal praise! With giant hand he will strike down forever the iniquitous thing, for he is the leader of the armies of Truth and Righteousness, and the God of Hosts is with him!

When the great apostle of the Gentiles preached the Gospel at Ephesus, he created no small stir, for he preached against a religion which many believed to be the source of their happiness and prosperity; they said that believing in Diana they had built a magnificent city, and had come to be a mighty and prosperous people; and they attributed all these blessings to the worship of this heathen goddess. When Paul told that Diana was no goddess, that her worship was mockery, they raised a great uproar, and howled down the preacher of Truth, shouting, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" But who was it that was instigating the uproar? It was Demetrius, the silversmith, and his fellow-craftsmen who made silver shrines for Diana, and wrought no small gain unto themselves; and when Demetrius had called them together he said, "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover, ye see and hear that not alone at Ephesus but throughout all Asia, this Paul hath turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also that the temple of the great Goddess, Diana, should be despised, and her magnificence destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshipeth." And it was when they heard these sayings that they were filled with wrath against the new religion, and raised the uproar and cried out, saying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" So today when Carnegie and these monopolist millionaires see that this Grover, not only in Pennsylvania and New York, but throughout all the Union, hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that Protection is no god; and seeing, moreover, that the craft which brings them no small gain is in danger to be set at naught, they give their millions to defeat the champion of the Truth, and tell the people that by the

Goddess, "Protection," this has come to be a mighty nation with magnificent industries and that they are kept from pauperism. Some will not see through these shallow hypocrisies, and cry with them, "Great is Protection of the Americans." But the Temple of Diana was burned and upon its ruins was raised the proudest church of ancient Christendom. All the shrines and worshippers of Diana have passed away, but the truth that Paul preached will stand when heaven and earth shall pass away! When this fetich worship of "Protection" shall be swept away, free trade in all its full and logical sense shall be established, we will have no millionaires and no paupers, but a free, prosperous and happy people from where that Goddess of Liberty rises with her beacon hand from the surges of the Atlantic far away over mighty rivers and broad empire states to where the waves of another ocean beat gently on golden sands. The men who love justice and freedom are rallying around the standard which Grover Cleveland has raised. From every state in the Union they come. From New York and Michigan and Indiana and Illinois they are coming in resistless power as with the swell of mighty waters, as with "the tramp of embattled hosts!"

JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LOCKE CRAIG AND JAMES M. MOODY

NOTE: This account of Mr. Craig's speech, at Waynesville, N. C., October 15, 1894, appeared in The Asheville Citizen on the following day. While the speech is not reported in full, the sketch is vivid, and gives a good impression of Governor Craig's power before an audience. He said this was the beginning of his reputation as a speaker. In the campaign of 1894 both he and James M. Moody, who was afterwards a member of Congress, were running for the State Senate. Moody was elected, however, as the State went Republican by a large majority, only seven Democrats being elected to the General Assembly of 1895, which preceded by two years the beginning of the long to be remembered administration of Daniel L. Russell, the second Republican Governor of North Carolina since the War Between the States.

Waynesville, N. C., Oct. 13.—This has been a great day for the Democracy of old Haywood. There was a large crowd of representative men from all parts, a great speech and great enthusiasm. This was the culmination of what is probably the best campaign ever made in this county.

Mr. Moody led off in a fifty minutes speech (for he did not speak his time out.) He presented the Republican side in as fair and as able manner as it could have been presented. Mr. Moody is a lawyer and a good one, and speaks as an attorney for the defense in this great action being tried before the people. He finished his speech, which was a good one for his cause, and sat down amidst the most overwhelming and enthusiastic silence. The traditional welkin refused to ring.

Mr. Craig then rose. Before he had been speaking ten minutes every man in the house, except those around him in the bar, Democrat, Populist and Republican, was standing on his feet. He disposed of what few so-called arguments Mr. Moody had made in a few moments and then laid him out in grand style. It is no exaggeration to say the young man actually seemed to be inspired. Every eye in the house was fastened on the face of the speaker, glowing with the intensity of inspiration. No report can possibly do justice to his speech, the equal of which, the oldest men who heard it say, was never made in Waynesville by any man, old or young.

Everybody was spell-bound. Old men wept, young men

went wild, Populists opened wide their mouths, and Republicans were absolutely thunder-struck. Even Mr. Moody seemed dazed, if not hypnotized. Dr. Wells, of Clyde, said, "It was a succession of electric cloudbursts"; that he had heard great speakers all over the Union and had never heard it surpassed. Mr. Hall, late of Alabama, said he had never heard any better speech anywhere. Mr. Tom Lee said that everybody pronounced it the greatest political speech they had ever heard. Mr. James Ferguson said it was the best speech by far that had been made in Waynesville since the campaign began. In fact, everybody agreed that it was indeed a great speech for Democracy and one that undoubtedly won many votes.

INTRODUCING WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN IN ASHEVILLE

NOTE: The first time Mr. Craig ever introduced Mr. Bryan was in 1896, during Bryan's first campaign for the presidency. Mr. Craig was then Elector at Large. On this occasion there was assembled in Asheville the largest audience that perhaps has ever gathered for any political speaking, the crowd being estimated at twenty-five thousand. The great Commoner's star had risen to its zenith, and the following speech of Mr. Craig, from The Asheville Citizen, is expressive of the hope and enthusiasm of the democracy of North Carolina in the famous campaign of 1896.

Years afterwards, Governor Craig laughingly said, when introducing Mrs. Bryan at her first appearance before an Asheville audience, in 1917, that he had won his reputation as a speaker introducing her illustrious husband, and that he now proposed to extend that reputation by introducing her.

(From The Asheville Citizen, Sept. 16, 1896)

At 4:15 Hon. Locke Craig began his speech of introduction of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Craig said: "Half a century ago Henry Clay, while a candidate for the presidency, addressed the people of North Carolina from the eastern portico of our capitol. Again we are honored, and with the deepest emotions of gratitude and admiration, with souls ablaze with enthusiasm for the cause of humanity, this vast multitude, as with the voice of the whirlwind, sends forth its shout to welcome within the borders of our Commonwealth the grandest of the tribunes of the people.

"A short time ago, comparatively unknown, the effulgence of his genius burst upon the astonished gaze of men, and he in our midst is the most conspicuous personage on earth. In that historic convention at Chicago, amid the tumult of darkness and doubt and uncertainty, he flashed the light that brought order out of chaos. As with trumpet call he sounded the note of the holy war against the great iniquity, he stands forth today the splendid leader of the mighty hosts of a rejuvenated, a purified and a triumphant Democracy to restore the heritage of our fathers, to write upon the immortal page of history a sound declaration of American independence.

"In the citadels of plutocracy with words of living fire he hurled his denunciations against the grinding greed of oppression. With a strength that never tires, with a courage that never shrinks, with a faith that never falters, he pleads the cause of the lowly and fires with victorious assurance the patriot hearts of the sons of the Republic. There are times in the lives of nations when the souls of men glow with a fire that cannot be quenched—it is that divine moral force that defies the power of gold. It is more resistless than the tread of imperial armies. Guided, sustained, swept on by the power of Almighty God, we are marching in ranks that cannot be broken. In this great crisis of our country's life, in this eventful struggle of humanity, we stretch forth our arms and look with inspired hope on the glorious manhood of our young leader, for we know that on him rests the benediction of One who came to preach the gospel to the poor. I present to you William J. Bryan."

TRIBUTE TO INDUSTRY

(From A Speech Made In 1896)

I shall never forget with what emotion I saw and heard for the first time in operation, a large cotton mill.

I have stood upon the dome of Mount Mitchell at midnight, while beneath me the storm thundered in terrific rage and power, the clouds shot electric fire, and the awful artillery of Heaven was unlimbered. The giant oak and granite boulders were uprooted, and hurled booming and crashing into the abyss amid the mighty battle of the elements, as of primeval chaos.

I have stood upon the sand dunes of Hatteras, and seen the stampede of hurricanes from equatorial storm fields, as they swept over the seething, tumultuous Atlantic in unbridled force and destruction from tropics to polar sea.

But, when I stood in that great cotton mill and listened to the song of a thousand looms, and the music of thousands of spindles, it was finer and grander than mountain storm or ocean hurricane. It was a marching Hymn of universal progress. The energy that wrought the havoc of the storm had been harnessed and trained by the genius of man to do the service of man. This chorus in the recitative of triumphant industry sounds around the world, to feed and to clothe—to liberate the toiler from ancient bondage—to beat down poverty from its hopelessness and degradation—to bless all God's children to a higher life—answering the prayer:

"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done."

CAMPAIGN OF 1898

NOTE: The campaign of 1898 has long since become a part of history, with its victory bringing redemption to the State from Republican mis-rule. This campaign was bitterly fought out on the hustings by the ablest leaders of the State, every section giving of its best in the hour of need. The News and Observer, of Raleigh, in an editorial on the morning of the inauguration of Locke Craig as Governor, calls to mind in eloquent remembrance the service rendered by him in 1898 and 1900:

The people of North Carolina will never forget the great campaign of 1898, the most important in the life of this generation, or the campaign of 1900 when the suffrage constitutional amendment was ratified. The very life, industrially and politically of the East was at stake. Its people were aroused, but the question of the hour was: "Will the West understand our sore needs and come to our assistance?" The amendment was not popular in the West. It put a burden upon the militant Democracy of that battling ground, where every inch won by the Democrats was won in hand to hand conflict with a vigorous and resourceful political enemy. In that supreme moment, Locke Craig, the voice of Vance's home and Merrimon's home, speaking for himself and his people, rang like a bell declaring that the cause of Bertie was the cause of Buncombe, the cause of Halifax was the cause of Haywood, the cause of Craven was the cause of Cherokee, and that to preserve good government and its splendid civilization the mountain Democracy would spend and be spent to the last man. He made the sacrifice to run for the Legislature in Buncombe, and won a victory unparalleled in that county by the most courageous and glorious campaign in its history. In the Legislature he was a potent leader. On the stump he was in the West what Aycock was in the East. He never counted the cost when principle was at stake. * * *

A MAMMOTH MEETING

NOTE: While Mr. Craig was canvassing in Eastern North Carolina, he was unanimously nominated for the Legislature by the Demo-

crats at home, and imperatively called back to Buncombe County to make the canvass there.

The account of his closing speech at Asheville is from The Citizen of November 3, 1898:

Perhaps never in the history of Asheville, certainly not within the memory of the present generation, has been witnessed such a political gathering as that which assembled in the Grand Opera House last evening.

Grandmothers and grandfathers, mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers joined to make up the magnificent audience that filled every seat and occupied nearly every foot of space in the great building.

And every heart and mind in the great throng throbbed in sympathy with the determination of the men of Buncombe and North Carolina to restore white rule and honest government in this State.

There was a prophecy on the face of every man present of a majority of not less than 500 in Buncombe for Democracy on Tuesday next, and a promise in every blazing eye that no power known to modern Radicalism should thwart them.

The speeches were appropriate in every word. No threats, no incendiarism, no bitterness, but in every one was manifest an unshakable determination to redeem North Carolina this year.

Chairman Murphy commenced, President Van Winkle of the Biltmore Club and C. A. Webb continued, and Locke Craig concluded, amid the shouts of enthusiastic hundreds, the exercises of this most memorable public gathering.

Craig surpassed himself. It is no exaggeration to say that he swayed his audience with the hand of a master. Words that burned into the minds of his hearers poured from his lips for a full hour, and when he closed with a grand appeal for every one to rise who would pledge his time and his all to Democratic success until the polls closed on Tuesday, every man, woman and child stood up and shouted the genuineness of a determination to do it.

It was a great meeting, and a harbinger of the great victory that awaits Democracy on Tuesday.

THE VICTORY

NOTE: Mr. Craig was triumphantly elected to the Legislature, reversing a Republican majority of 600 to a Democratic majority of more than 700. The Asheville Gazette, in the following editorial, gives some idea of what this victory meant to the State:

The election in this State resulted as it should have. Regarded as a contest for white supremacy, in which the negro vote was solidly aligned on the Republican side, the immense majority that the Democrats obtained in the State—probably not far from 40,000—proves that the newly elected Legislature goes into office with the endorsement of the massed multitude of the white voters of the State. As Chairman Simmons said to The Gazette's representative at Raleigh yesterday, "It is the greatest political revolution ever known to have taken place in the State, or probably in any State of the Union." With hardly another issue to obscure the contest the fight from the first was for control of the State Government. The Democratic Legislative Committees were selected with extraordinary care, and the Democratic majority in the coming session of the Legislature should possess the qualifications necessary for the great work before them. They are to be the custodians of the honor of the State and of the great political union of its white citizenship. The Democratic Party enters office by a revolution achieved by the people. A solemn trust reposes in the hands of the legislative majority. Their course must be marked by devotion to the credit of the State. They must rise to a dignity becoming the representatives of a constituency that measures the progress and civilization of the State. By this alone can they preserve the union of this vast and splendid constituency.

THE CELEBRATION

Outdoor Meeting At Raleigh

NOTE: After the victory there was a great outpouring of the people in an outdoor meeting, held in Raleigh, the night of November 15, 1898, in which the prominent speakers of the campaign took part. The account from Raleigh to The Asheville Gazette is interesting:

Raleigh, N. C., Nov. 15.—The demonstration tonight was

attended by thousands and was orderly and enthusiastic. The speeches were excellent. Locke Craig captured the audience. His speech was second to none. There were repeated calls for him after he finished.

A feature of the big meeting was that it resolved itself into a great outburst of popular demand that Simmons succeed Marion Butler in the Senate.

Besides Craig the speakers were: Simmons (unexpected), Kluttz, Overman, W. B. Shaw, Avery, B. P. Long, Atwater, R. A. P. Cooley, W. H. Carroll and D. J. Currie.

An arch spanned Fayetteville Street in front of the City Hall. It was illuminated and decorated, and under it a big procession passed. The speakers' stand was on the mound in the centre of Nash Square, the place where Bryan spoke in 1896. It was brilliant with electric lights.

There was especial interest to hear Craig and as he arose to speak he was greeted with an enthusiastic round of applause. His speech was a finished oration, difficult to do justice to in a brief newspaper report. Some of its points were as follows:

"This is a climax in history. The irrepressible conflict is ended. This peaceful revolution has restored the government of the Commonwealth to a position of stable equilibrium. The triumph of the Anglo-Saxon was inevitable. We rejoice that the victory is so peaceful, so speedy and so complete. * * *

"It was the Teuton that died before the legions of Caesar, but not a man surrendered. It was the Anglo-Saxon that stood like a wall of granite, where the great emperor hurled against him those projectiles of war—the grand army and the old guard. It was the Anglo-Saxon that drove back the savage and reclaimed the New World. Before his pioneer axe primeval forests fell, the wilderness was transformed into wide seed fields and steepled cities. It was the Anglo-Saxon at Santiago that stretched out his arm of power to crush the tyrant and unshackle the slave; at Manila, that sent his bombshells blazing and crashing through the miasma of despotism in the Orient.

"He has sent forth his fleets and armies, not as Rome sent

forth her legions to conquer, rule and crush, not as Napoleon sent forth his armies, to march by the light of blazing cities, to found new dynasties and consolidate arbitrary power, but to civilize, to Christianize and make peace on earth.

"In South Africa, in Australia, in the Philippines, in America, from whence the Goddess of Liberty lifts her beacon hand from the surges of the Atlantic—over mighty rivers and empire States—to where the waves of another ocean beat gently on golden sands, in all the world wherever he set his foot he was ruler—except in North Carolina. And this is the State of Halifax Court House and Mecklenburg; this is the State consecrated by the blood of Guilford Court House and Kings Mountain. It is the State of Nathaniel Macon and Badger and Pender and Vance. It is the State that has 125,000 sons who sleep in the battle-scarred bosom of old Virginia. It is our sacred Fatherland. Inspired by the hallowed, glorious memories of the past, commanded by the solemn duties of the present, sustained by the prayers of her manhood, empowered by Him who dwells in omnipotence beyond the morning stars, who wrote the Eternal Law, we have decreed that North Carolina too is the Anglo-Saxon's heritage and shall be ruled by the Anglo-Saxon men. * * *

"The race question is the most difficult problem of the ages. The sins of our fathers will be visited upon us and our children. We must solve this problem with the courage and with the enlightened conscience of the Anglo-Saxon. Justice must be done to all men. * * *

> Never yet share of truth was vainly set
> In the world's wide fallow,
> Other hands may sow the seed,
> Other hands from hill and mead,
> Reap the harvest yellow.

"The public weal, the welfare of both races, self-preservation, demand that the negro be eliminated as a disturbing element in politics. They stand in a solid phalanx, 120,000 strong, ignorant and politically vicious, with smart, unscrupulous leaders—they are a constant menace to the State, a constant threat of anarchy and ruin, 'red ruin and the

breaking up of laws.' They cannot rule this State. When the armies of Louis XIV encircled Holland and it seemed as if resistance were almost useless, William, Prince of Orange, called the State's General together and it was solemnly decreed that sooner than surrender to the foreign conqueror, they would cut loose the dykes and let the ocean sweep over the land; that nothing should appear above the waves except the towers and steeples of the cities of Holland. The people of North Carolina, too, have determined that the African shall not rule in this land, and this determination might as well be written into law.

"The ballot box should be protected from corruption. We should have an election law to prevent as far as possible all corruption and bribery. The Democratic Party is the friend of the poor man. His sovereign right to vote should be protected and jealously guarded. * * *

"In this great struggle the souls of men were aglow with a fire that could not be quenched. They were moved by that mysterious moral power that despises gold and bayonets; that is more resistless than the advance of imperial armies. The Democratic host, like the avalanche crushing all before it, swept onward to victory.

"In this hour of triumph let all the sons and daughters of Carolina rejoice. For the honest Republican we have nothing but good-will. There are no Populists, they are all Democrats, and the Democrats all belong to the great People's Party. We are united more firmly than ever in the brotherhood of the Democracy of Zeb. Vance. The rivers are shouting hallelujahs and the mountains are clapping their hands for joy. * * *

"There are a few men in North Carolina who were traitors to every trust and false to every instinct of our race. They not only basely betrayed the cause of the poor, but tried to crush the manhood and womanhood of North Carolina beneath the heel of an alien and senile race, and it ought to be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for these men in North Carolina.

"Good government will be restored. We will drive the rascals out and keep the rascals out. The true sons of the Old North State will make and administer her law. Justice

will be done to the corporation and to the individual, and the laws will be administered in equity to the rich and in mercy to the poor."

CRAIG'S CAMPAIGN SPEECH ON THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

NOTE: The Legislature of 1899 was strongly Democratic, as the result of the victory won by the Party in the November elections. The outstanding work of this Legislature being the passage of the Bill submitting to a vote of the people, the Suffrage Amendment to the State Constitution. The campaign of 1898 was won on this pledge to the people, that they should be rid of negro domination. Following is a stenographic report of Mr. Craig's speech in the campaign for the Amendment, which resulted in a great victory for Democracy, sweeping Daniel Russell and his colleagues out of power, and bringing into the Governor's office Charles Brantley Aycock, the great Educational Governor of North Carolina, and with him the dawn of a new era for the advancement of the State.

(Stenographic Report)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is customary for political speakers to say that the campaign in which they are engaged is the most important in the State's history. We can truthfully say that about this campaign, for the issue affects our fundamental law. It is proposed to change our Constitution and modify the provisions regulating the suffrage of the people. Prior to 1894 the State had been continuously Democratic for a quarter of a century, and the people were reasonably satisfied. In 1894 many of the best men in North Carolina, dissatisfied on account of the administration of the national affairs of our party, saw proper to sever their allegiance from the party of their fathers, the party of their young manhood, the party whose principles they loved, and whose history they had helped to write. They shook hands with their ancient political enemies of the Republican Party. It was not long before they found that they had made a mistake. They came to see that when they shook hands with the enemies of the Democratic Party they had joined hands with the enemies of North Carolina. The alliance which they formed was about to consummate the ruin of the State, and brought shame to all the people. Scarcely a law among the Statutes of 1895 and 1897 except those which good men would prefer had never been written. When the

Legislature of 1899 met, Dan Hugh McLane, of the County of Harnett, introduced a Bill to repeal all Acts of the Legislature of 1895 and 1897, but the Legislature thought those laws should be treated as well as Sodom was treated. You remember that God promised to spare Sodom if there were five righteous men in the city, and we thought that peradventure there might be five righteous laws in the whole lot, and so we spared them as a whole. If the good men who quit the Democratic Party in 1894 had had the remotest idea that the new alliance which they formed would have resulted as it did, they would have been as far from quitting the Democratic Party as we are today. And so in 1898 they came back home, many of them—they came back to the house of their fathers and the house of their young manhood—they quit the house of political prostitutes, and we welcomed them back. We killed the fatted calf for them, but did not treat them as prodigals. They were somewhat like the young country boy who got married and went off on a bridal trip. He had some money, and stopped at the finest hotel in the city. The next morning they had nice brown fish cakes for breakfast. He never had seen any such things before, and thought they were biscuits. He reached out his hand and took one and tried to cut it open. As it would not cut, he pulled it open with his fingers, and did not like the looks of the inside much. He pinched a piece out of it, smelled of it, turned around to his bride and said, "Sal, this seems to be a mighty nice hotel, and these people have treated us mighty nice, and I don't like to say anything agin them, but I'll be durned if there isn't something rotten in this bread." Sal she smelled of it and turned up her nose, and said she'd be dinged if the whole thing wasn't rotten, and she was gwine to leave any such house. And these good men left the house where dwelt that mongrel crew, and helped us to win the great victory of 1898. They feel better, too. A man by the name of Barefoot, in the County of Harnett, told me the other day that he left in 1894, but that his old father who raised him a Democrat told him that he and all his brothers would come back, because he left from honest motives. He said that good old father was dead and gone, but that his prophecy had been fulfilled; that he was back, that

he felt better because he was among white folks, and that his brothers were coming back. You, my friends, who have left, are not happy where you are. You never will be satisfied again until you get within the Democratic Party where you belong. When that Legislature of 1898 met, it found many things to undo and many things to do. The political pie hunters that were in power from 1894 to 1898 had laid their unholy hands on every institution in the State save one. They had practically destroyed the public school system. In the good old Republican County of Madison three school houses were burned to ashes by an indignant people because they would not suffer their school money stolen and squandered. The Democratic Legislature of 1898 had to re-write the laws relating to railroads and all other corporations in the State, and had to re-organize the public institutions of the State, and had to rehabilitate the public school system.

It was necessary to pass a separate car law, which was a great blessing to the people of Eastern North Carolina, especially to those who ride in second-class coaches. They had to relieve white people of many of the counties of the East from the shame and humiliation of negro domination.

But there is one act which we passed which is of more importance than all other acts put together. It is an act that is today engrossing the attention of the people of North Carolina throughout the whole State. People think about it and talk about it wherever two or three are gathered together. That act, if it become a law, will simply make the written law of North Carolina conform to the unwritten law. It will write into law what has already been determined in the breast of every white man in North Carolina. It will make the Constitution of our State conform to the moral law, if you please, yes, to the Divine Law that was indicated when God made the races of men. It will write into an irrevocable constitutional decree, that the white men of North Carolina shall make and administer all the laws. This is the purpose and effect of the Constitutional Amendment. That Amendment is not yet written into law. You have heard of the doctrine of the initiative and the referendum. They say it is a Populist doctrine. That is a mistake. It was conceived 4,000 years before

the Populist Party was ever heard of, and will exist 4,000 years after the Populist Party is dead and forgotten. Four thousand years ago the people of Israel assembled on Mt. Ebal and Gerizim. There they were assembled in that awful Presence, with the majestic mountains towering around—men, women and children, prophets, priests and rabbis—and that law which was handed down to them by their law givers, which has been a law unto the people of Israel and their fathers for 4,000 years, and which has been a law unto us and unto our fathers, and will be a law unto all generations of men, had no effect and force of law until the Levites stood up before the people and read it line by line and item by item, and until it was ratified and acknowledged as a law by all the people of Israel. That was the first and grandest constitutional convention that history records. And so on the second day of next August another great constitutional convention will assemble. It will assemble around the ballot box in North Carolina, from the shadows of the Great Smoky Mountains, on the purple hills of the Piedmont, and in this Tidewater section. In that convention the men of North Carolina will speak, and of that convention, you, my friend, will be a member, and however poor and however humble you be, your voice will be heard and heeded as much as the voice of the greatest and most enlightened in all this land. The people of North Carolina will speak, and when they do speak in their sovereign capacity as a people, and write this Amendment into their fundamental law, it will be a law unto us and unto our children. And George White and Marion Butler and Abe Middleton, and the gates of Hell thrown in, shall not prevail against it. This Amendment has been much misrepresented by the revenue doodlers of this State. We expected this. We expected them to deceive the people in every possible way. I will read you the fourth and fifth sections of the Amendment, as they are the only sections that the Republicans complain of. You have doubtless heard that before a man could vote under this amendment he must own three hundred dollars worth of property. An illiterate man in Morganton told me the other day that he had been told by one of these fellows that before a man could vote he must be able to read and write in three separate languages.

They would deceive the very elect if they could. Do not take their reading of the Amendment. They will read it to suit themselves. If you cannot read it get some good Democratic neighbor to read it for you, or some honest Republican—if you can find him, or honest Populist, as to that matter. These revenue officers would, if they could, do like the boys did the old minister, who announced on one Sunday what chapter of the Scripture he would read from. He was going to read from that chapter that tells of Noah and the Deluge, and describes the Ark. These two boys got into the church, found his place, and pasted two of the leaves of the Bible together, so that they looked like one leaf. The old minister got up, opened his Bible at the place he had picked out, and read: "In those days Noah took unto himself a wife, who was at that time," and he turned over the leaf, "three hundred cubits long, forty cubits deep and twenty cubits wide, made of gopher wood, and covered with pitch on the inside and the outside." He turned back and read again slowly and carefully. He threw down his Bible and said, "Brethren and sisters, I have been reading the Scriptures and searching them diligently for a long time, but I never came across this passage before. It only convinces my mind of the truth of that other wonderful passage in this book which says that man is fearfully and wonderfully made, and especially is it so with a woman." Don't let them paste the leaves of the Amendment together, but make them read it all and read it right, and when it is all read and all understood every patriot in North Carolina will vote for it and support it, because it is just and right, and what the people of North Carolina want. (Here Section 4 of the Amendment is read.) You see at once that that disfranchises the negro. He cannot read the Constitution; he cannot write it. Let an election officer read to him some such passage in the Constitution as this: "The privileges of the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended." What does he know about the Constitution or the writ of habeas corpus? What does he care about it? He has never tried to know anything about it and never will know anything about it. This one section will wipe out the negro vote in North Carolina. Of the 120,000 negro voters it will disfranchise 110,000 of

them, practically all of them. It will be good-bye to all negro office holders, and all those who base their hope of office on the negro vote. It will be good-bye to Mr. Butler and all men who pander to the prejudice and ignorance of the negro for the offices they hold. No wonder they are against it. It means their political annihilation. It sends them into nothingness, out of which they ought never to have arisen. But unfortunately while it would disfranchise practically all of the negroes this section would disfranchise many good white men, for unfortunately there are many good white men in this State who cannot read and write. They have never had the opportunity to learn. During their boyhood and young manhood they or their fathers stood in the lines of battle in the vanguard of the Army of Northern Virginia, and so we did not stop at the fourth section. Many of the best men in North Carolina cannot read and write. When I left my home in Eastern North Carolina and went beyond the Blue Ridge to enter upon the work of life, I did not know a man in that country. The first man who met me and gave me the right hand of welcome was Lafayette Burnett. He is not educated. He is a brave mountaineer, the descendant of a noble race of mountain pioneers. He and his three brothers shouldered their muskets when the drums beat the morning reveille of 1861, and never laid down their arms until the roll of the last drum at Appomattox. Two of his brothers never came home. He stands six feet, and weighs 200 pounds. He is every inch a man and every ounce a hero. When he was told by one of these Republicans that the Democrats had formulated a measure that would disfranchise him he said that he knew it was a lie, because he knew that the Democrats would take care of him, but that if it was necessary to disfranchise him in order to save his brethren of the east—the men and the sons of the men with whom he fought from '61 to '65—he for one, would be willing to be disfranchised.

When this measure was under consideration in the hall of the House of Representatives, there sat in that hall an old man with gray hair and gray beard. He too was a soldier. His face had been burned in the battle smoke that blazed from Mission Ridge. He bore upon his bosom, scars that were made

by the bayonets that blazed on the fields of war. His name was Alfred Holt. He thought that this was an educational qualification pure and simple. With tears streaming down his face he declared that if it were necessary to disfranchise him to redeem North Carolina, that he too was willing to be disfranchised.

My unlettered friend, I come here today to tell you that the Democratic Party did not forget you and Lafayette Burnett and Alfred Holt. They remembered you, yes, though you be a Republican who have opposed and villified the Democratic Party and Democratic leaders; though you be a Populist that have said hard things about your Democratic neighbor, we forgot not you. If you belong to the great brotherhood of the Anglo-Saxon race we have made a provision for you. We are standing by you. One hundred and seventy-five thousand Democrats have recorded their vow that you shall never be disfranchised. The arms of 175,000 white men are around and about you. We stand in a solid phalanx. We are marching in ranks that cannot be broken. And so, after we wrote Section 4, we wrote Section 5. (Here Section 5 is read.) Could you vote prior to 1867? If you could, you can vote now. Did you have a father or a grandfather or a great-grandfather who could vote prior to that time? Your rights are not interfered with. You may not know who your father was, but if you know who your mother was, or your grandmother, you are provided for. You can plant yourself on Section 5 and demand your right as a sovereign citizen. No power on earth can take it from you. Your great heritage is guaranteed to you under this Constitution. There is only one kind of a white man in North Carolina that will be disfranchised, and that is the white man who, when the day comes and the books are open, goes up and denies his race and his color; surrenders the inheritance from his fathers, goes back upon his daddy and his grand-daddy, and his mammy and his grand-mammy, and swears that he is a negro or the son of a negro, or the grandson of a negro, and that white man will be disfranchised.

But they say that this is unconstitutional, and Section 5 will be stricken out, leaving Section 4 to stand. These revenue

officers and stillhouse raiders have suddenly bloomed out into great constitutional lawyers. There is not a lawyer of respectability in North Carolina, not a single one, who declared this unconstitutional, unless that lawyer is holding office by means of the negro vote. On the other hand, all the eminent lawyers in North Carolina, whether they be Republicans or Democrats or Populists, have declared this measure constitutional. Major Guthrie, the leading Populist lawyer in North Carolina—Judge Purnell, Tom Argo, Tom Settle—able Republican lawyers and judges, and all great men who adorn the bench and bar of this State, have pronounced this measure constitutional. But these men must hide their diminished heads in the presence of revenue officers! What do they care about the Constitution? It is a new thing under the sun for Republicans to be upholding the sanctity of the Constitution. When it was necessary to disfranchise the white men of North Carolina and enfranchise the negroes of North Carolina, they denounced the Constitution as a league with Death and a covenant with Hell. They trampled down the Constitution. They care no more for it than they do for a filthy rag. What do these revenue officers know about the Constitution? They would not know the Constitution from a camel with two humps on his back. I have heard a story about two fellows migrating to the West in a covered wagon. While they were driving across the great prairies they came to the track of the Western Union Pacific Railway. Jim says to Tom, "What's this?" Tom says, "Why, this; I know what this is. This is something you tie your wagon to of nights to keep the cyclone from blowing it away." Tom knew everything. Jim said he 'lowed that that was what it was, and as it was about night they decided to camp. They pulled and hauled their wagon until finally it landed right down between the rails. Tom says, "There, by gum, I told you so. I knowed what it was made for. Don't you see it fits to a gnat's heel?" And so they tied their wheels to the track and lashed it with ropes and got in the wagon and went to sleep. In the night they heard a mighty rumble. Tom nudged Jim in the side and said, "Jim, the cyclone is coming, but we're all right." The rumbling came nearer, and sounded like the voice of thunder. By and

by a bright light climbed over the edge of the horizon, bright as a steady flash of lightning. Nearer it came. It was the west-bound vestibule limited, sweeping over the prairie at the rate of sixty miles an hour. The engine screamed in terror. Tom he burst out of one side of the wagon, Jim out of the other, and the train dashed it into ten thousand pieces. Tom stood off and got his breath and said, "Jim, I was just somewhat mistaken about that thing. I bet that thing that passed along here was that durn Constitutional Amendment." And these fellows know just as much about the Constitution as Tom did about the Pacific Railway track.

If it be unconstitutional at all it is so because it is in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that the right to vote shall not de denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This Amendment to our Constitution says nothing about race, color, or previous condition of servitude. If a negro can read and write he is allowed to vote just as a white man is. Or if he had a father or a grandfather who could vote he is allowed that privilege. The free negroes in this State could vote prior to 1835, and all negroes who can show their descent from these free negroes are allowed this privilege under the fifth section, and can demand their rights under it. If there is a negro in North Carolina, and there are doubtless some, though he was a slave, if he had a negro father or a negro grandfather who lived in the State of Massachusetts, and that ancestor of his could vote in the State of Massachusetts, he can vote in North Carolina under this Section 5. The color line is not drawn. No man is disfranchised on account of his race, color or previous condition of servitude, but under Section 5 he is given the right to vote as an inheritance, and not on account of his race. It puts the negro in North Carolina on an equality before the law with all foreign born races, on an equality with the Irishman, the Englishman and the German, and surely he is entitled to and can claim no more rights than these descendants of those great races. Take a woman, an unmarried woman over twenty-one years of age. She may have property, she may pay her taxes on hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of

property. She is subject to all the burdens of government that a man is. She is a citizen of the United States, and she has all the priviliges of a citizen of the United States. But the law of North Carolina takes from her the right to vote, disfranchises her on account of her sex. That is not unconstitutional, and why; because it does not disfranchise her on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Surely she is entitled to as many privileges in the eye of the law as the illiterate, foreign, negro race. Take a boy under twenty-one. He may have property. He has to pay his taxes. yet he is not allowed to vote because of his age. The State is absolute sovereign as to qualifications of a voter, with these three exceptions, race, color and previous condition of servitude. And this Amendment disfranchises nobody on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The illiterate negro is disfranchised because he has not inherited the same privileges as the white man, and he ought not to inherit that privilege. In the State of Massachusetts the law allows no man to vote unless he can read and write, or unless he could vote prior to the first day of May, 1857. That is ten years before the date fixed in our Amendment, and no one has ever questioned the constitutionality of that law. If there were 100,000 negroes in Massachusetts, would it make that law any less constitutional? It would be questioned, if Russell and Butler lived in Massachusetts, and their only hope of office was to get that 100,000 negro votes. The Constitution of Mississippi has disfranchised the negro in that State. The Supreme Court of the United States declares that the Constitutional Convention of Mississippi swept the field of expedients for the purpose of disfranchising the negro, yet the Court upheld that Constitution because, as they said, the negro was not disfranchised on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In Louisiana they have practically the same amendment as we have. That amendment has been in force for two years. There are members in Congress now elected under that amendment. A Governor has been elected under it. Why has not that been declared unconstitutional? * * *

But this is not the greatest reason, there is no danger that

a white man will be disfranchised under this Amendment. The white people of North Carolina now have the right to vote under Section 5 of the Constitution. Section 5 is repealed by this Amendment, but the very same act that repeals Section 5 inserts this Amendment in its place, and this Amendment guarantees to the white man the right to vote with as much sanctity as the old section did. The old Section 5 is repealed on the condition—on the solemn agreement by the people of a Sovereign State, that the new Section 5 takes its place. You have entered into a solemn contract and covenant with your State that Section 5 be repealed on this condition. To take the right from you would be an iniquity, a diabolical wrong, and yet they tell you that the Supreme Court of the United States, the greatest judicial tribunal in the world, a tribunal sitting there to guarantee justice and equality to all men, to uphold the supreme law of right, will perpetrate this diabolical fraud and wrong; that this Court that stamped the Civil Rights Bill, by which the Republicans attempted to put the negro on an equality with the white man; this Court that has declared Beckham the Governor of Kentucky, because the people of Kentucky had decided that he was Governor; this Court that upheld the Constitution of Mississippi, that upheld the School Law of Georgia, which divided the negroes and the whites; which has upheld the Election Law of South Carolina, which is more stringent against the negro than ours; that this great Court will violate its rule of law and justice, and take from you a right guaranteed to you by all solemnities of your Constitution. Such an Act would be the end of Republican Government. Like Samson, in blind rage, to do this they would have to take hold of the pillars of the State and pull down the whole fabric of the Federal system. They would have to destroy the very cornerstone of the Republic. I denounce it as a slander and the vilest imputation upon this great tribunal. No one wants to disfranchise you, my illiterate friend, and no one can disfranchise you. If the illiterate white man in North Carolina should be thus unjustly disfranchised it would create riot and civil war, and every white man in North Carolina, except these revenue officers and negro politicians, would stand at your side to defend your

rights with the last drop of their blood. You can disfranchise negroes, but you cannot disfranchise white people. * * *

They also object to the clause in the Amendment providing for the payment of the poll tax. There is no new poll tax levied. The Constitution guarantees that the poll tax shall not exceed two dollars, that no man more than fifty years of age is liable to poll tax, and that if he be physically disabled or too poor to pay it, he is not liable for it. This Amendment provides that the able-bodied man under fifty years of age, able to pay his poll tax, shall pay that tax on or before the first day of March of the year in which he proposes to vote for the preceding year—six months after its date. And here is the able-bodied man under fifty, able to pay his poll tax. He enjoys all the blessings of our Government. He lives in a State that builds your school houses, your court houses, your public roads, asylums for the unfortunate. She stations the law as a sentinel around your door in the night time. She protects your property with the strong arm of the law, and you enjoy it all. You live in a great Government that would expend untold millions of its treasures and send its fleets and armies to the uttermost parts of the earth to assert your manhood and maintain your rights, and you enjoy it all. You accept all of these privileges, and it is all paid for out of money that is taken out of the pockets of your neighbors by taxation. And yet these Republicans say that you able-bodied man, under fifty years, able to pay your poll tax, are not willing to do it. It is a slander on the poor manhood of North Carolina. It is an appeal to the dishonesty of the poor people, a contemptible demogogic appeal that will be repudiated. * * * The poor people of this country are not the ones who escape the payment of taxes. It is the rich, who can hide their wealth on the tax-levying day. The poor man cannot hide his head. He has to pay his taxes, and he is willing to do it. But if he is not willing, and wants to enjoy all the benefits of this Government that are paid for by the neighbor just as poor as he is—if there be such a man in North Carolina, and I do not believe there is—that man ought to be disfranchised. * * *

They also object to the clause in the Amendment providing

that after 1908 all persons who have not registered at that time must know how to read and write. If you get your name on the registration book before 1908 you will not be troubled to register any more. You have the right to vote guaranteed to you forever. Your name is enrolled in the capital, and that roll will stay there as a memorial of the great inheritance that you have received from your fathers. I may be able to read and write the Constitution, but I am not going to vote that way. I am going to vote because my ancestors could vote. I will have my name enrolled in the capital along with those of my race who are less fortunate than I am, and we can always vote, and never have the trouble to register any more. * * *

But boys under thirteen years of age will not become twenty-one until after 1908, and so they cannot register under the Grandfather Clause. They will have to read and write. These Republicans tell us that there are white boys in North Carolina who will be disfranchised. * * * I am not afraid for the white boys of North Carolina to run an intellectual race with the kinky heads of North Carolina, and I would be unwilling that this clause be stricken out of our Amendment. * * * I would be unwilling that a great inducement should be offered to the negroes of North Carolina to become educated, while a great inducement should be offered to the white boys of North Carolina to remain forever ignorant. When the white boys of North Carolina know that before they can vote they must know how to read and write you cannot prevent them from learning. * * * They learn it while they rest at noon from the labors on the farm. They learn it by pine knots at night. And here in North Carolina, where we have a splendid public school system, and C. B. Aycock, the next Governor of North Carolina, promises to use all the power of the administration to guarantee every boy an education, it is an insult to boys to say that they will not take advantage of that opportunity. * * *

In 1908 there is not a boy who is now under thirteen years of age who will not be educated. We will have an educated citizenship, a citizenship that understands the Constitution and Government of their country. We will have a purer Gov-

ernment, and wiser and juster laws. These boys are not cowards, either. They are not afraid of this. They have read in their school histories that this great privilege of the franchise was not given to our fathers. It was won by the shedding of the most costly blood that ever crimsoned this world, by the sacrifice of the most heroic lives that ever saved humanity. They have read that their ancestors 800 years ago stood at Runnymede with sword in hand, and defied the king and the armies of the king, and forced him to sign the great Charter of English liberties, and they have stood from that day to this ready to defend their rights. And they tell me that these boys will not learn how to read and write to preserve for themselves the legacy that has been handed down to them from their fathers. This young Anglo-Saxon race in whose veins flows the blood of the men of the Revolution! There is no man in all this land that will say that his boy cannot and will not learn. * * * If there be such a man he is unworthy of that boy, and that boy will stand up here today and repudiate that statement. The Democratic Party wishes to educate and elevate the manhood of the State. The Republicans would keep them forever in ignorance. * * *

Perhaps it would not be improper to ask when the Republicans got to be the friends of the poor white men of this country? There was a time when the poor white people needed sympahty and support. Sherman's army had marched to the sea through North Carolina, and left behind it nothing but smoking ruins and wasted country. Around every fireside in North Carolina there was a vacant chair. The young boy that filled it was in an unknown grave in Northern Virginia. North Carolina had felt upon her bosom the tread of embattled hosts. She had felt to the very quick the scourge of avenging armies. Tears were pent up in the silent desolation of mothers and widows and sisters. All our people were poor, and yet in that day of grief and distress and poverty, these men who are today pitying the poor, sat in the high places of power and luxury. They rode in the second Chariot. They dwelt in the house of feasting while we were in the house of mourning. While we wept they laughed and danced and rejoiced. Now when the poor white people of North Carolina

are somewhat recovered from the scourge that they brought upon this State they are pitying our poverty and illiteracy. It is not the first time in the history of the world that the hypocrite has used the cause of the poor to accomplish his vile designs. You remember that when the Master was worn and weary by traveling over the burning, scorching desert, He went into the house of the rich Pharisee to rest. While He and His disciples were there, there came in, unannounced, unbidden, all disheveled, all unworthy and all unwelcome too, the poor, despised outcast woman. She saw the stony faces of the Pharisees, but when she caught a glimpse of that ineffable face of love she burst into tears and fell down at His feet and washed them in those tears and wiped them with her disheveled hair. She broke open the alabaster box of precious ointment. It was all she had. She annointed His feet with the costly oil. There was one in all that company that saw unmoved. He raised his voice against it and rebuked her. He said that this ointment ought to have been sold for much, and the money given to the poor. That was Judas, who wanted to steal the money. * * *

My illiterate friend, how came you to be illiterate? You are illiterate because you never had the opportunity of an education. At the time when you would have been at school you had on a suit of gray; and a confederate musket on your shoulder. You were in the storm of war. But while you and your brothers and your fathers were in a distant land, you had a great friend down here in North Carolina. He was the greatest friend that the poor man ever had. He glorified the poor manhood of this State, for he himself came from the loins of the poor manhood. He glorified the Democratic Party too, for he himself lived and died a Democrat. While you were fighting the battles of your country, old Zeb. Vance, by honesty and frugality, had accumulated a school fund of $450,000, and had it laid away in the public treasury. It was yours. It was there to educate you and your children when you came back from the war. It was your priceless heritage. But as soon as the war was over, by means of the negro vote, the Republicans got into power. They laid their unholy hands upon that sacred fund, and stole and squandered the last cent

of it and ran away. School houses were closed because the money was stolen. You had no opportunity to get an education, because they stole that money. Now they are pitying you because you are illiterate. They are like the fellow that was indicted for murdering his father and mother, and stood up in open court and confessed his guilt and when the judge asked him what he had to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him according to law, he said, "I hope Your Honor will have mercy on the poor orphan that stands before you." You have been robbed, you are the disinherited heirs of a great estate, and these men who are today pitying you for your illiteracy are the ones who are responsible for that wrong, that great misfortune. And now these men are trying to invoke the name of Zeb. Vance, and say they are following in the footsteps of Vance, these men—they denounced him and reviled him and slandered him while he lived! They would have stoned him to death. It is not the first time, either, in the history of the world that a generation of vipers has been ready to build the tombs of prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. They shall not invoke the name of Zeb. Vance! They shall build no tomb to his memory! You miserable demagogue, he denounced you, too, while he lived. He stigmatized you with infamy. I wish that the great old Senator were living today, that he could speak one word to the people of North Carolina; that from those lips of love, and melting pity and greatness, and fiery wrath, there could come one blast. He would make it more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment, than for you in North Carolina. But the Stately Ship is gone to the "haven under the hill"—

> "Oh, for the touch of a vanish'd hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still!"

I submit that the negro has no right to vote. He has the right to vote neither by constitutional enactment nor by inheritance, nor has he deserved that right by a proper use of it. In 1867, in flagrant outrage of the Constitution, by a military edict, he was given that right, and 20,000 white men in North Carolina were disfranchised by the Republican Party

at the point of a bloody bayonet. In defiance of the Constitution, the negroes were enfranchised and the white people were disfranchised, and by that despotic military law the negro ratified the Cander Constitution, which guarantees to him the right to vote. He hardly knew what he was doing when he voted himself the right to vote. They say that down here in Eastern North Carolina, at the first election held under the Reconstruction Acts, when the negroes voted for the first time, they swarmed around that ballot box in great numbers. They say that down here at one of these voting precincts on that day, there was a man who had rat poison to sell. He thought it was a good time to advertise and sell his poison, and so he was standing up in the crowd talking up his drug and advertising it, by distributing among the crowd little circulars with the picture of a rat, that had taken some of this poison. The rat was dead and laid out in fine shape, and the negroes got hold of this rat circular and got it confused with their tickets and began to vote it, and they were shoving them into the ballot box just by the thousands. Along towards night one old coon went up to the leader and said, "Look here, there must be something wrong about this thing; I don't believe this is no 'publican ticket. This thing got nothing but a dead rat on it." The negro said, "You fool, that is a 'publican ticket, the very thing you want. Vote that ticket and it means that you vote for to ratify the Constitution." It was with such voters as these that the Canby Constitution was ratified, and the votes were taken to South Carolina and counted in Charleston by Gen. Canby, the Military Governor in North Carolina.

The negroes certainly did not inherit the right to vote, because they, nor their ancestors, have ever won or deserved that right. In all the ages they have never shed one single drop of blood for the liberties and the privileges which we enjoy. In all our history they have never laid one stone upon another in this great fabric of our Government.

Have they used the privilege so as to entitle them to the right to it? The man that was given ten talents so used them that he acquired the ownership. How has the negro used this talent? They were given the right to vote in 1867, and in two

years they bankrupted North Carolina. They plunged the State into a debt of forty millions of dollars, and the men that they had elected wasted and squandered the money, and applied not a cent of it to the good of the State. They built no railroads, they made no internal improvements. The poor were not cared for, the innocent and blind lay in dungeons or wandered in the fields. There was no government in North Carolina, either. The course of the law was ended. The sword, and not the sword of the military captain, either, but the sword of the bandit and the cut-throat, stood chief magistrate in this State. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended. Bands of armed men went up and down the State. The authorities were powerless. It was worse than civil war. They made this land a desolation and called it peace. There was a veritable reign of terror. The sun of law and justice was in total eclipse for two years. Political night had come, and all manner of beasts of prey came forth to pillage and to devour. These political hyenas and jackals ravaged this old State of our fathers. These were the dark days in North Carolina's history.

To the east of the city in which I live there is a little mountain called Beaucatcher. It is called that from the fact that from time immemorial the boys and girls have gone there to loiter on its beautiful summit, and tell to each other that old story that never grows old. I have stood on that mountain in the early morning, and looked beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains over the land where lie the ashes of my fathers. I have seen the day break beyond the eternal hills; the mountains give forth their forms from out the bosom of the darkness; from the dewy branch little snowbirds here and and there with deep warble salute the coming sun—"Stars fade out and galaxies—street lamps of the City of God." Clouds of the night storm are lifted up on sheens of fire and rolled back in pillars of flame. When far overhead they are caught up by the morning breeze and swept away, perfect day is established, and there is peace. So did the morning come to North Carolina in 1870, when a Democratic Legislature was elected; breaking into the splendors of the day in 1876, when the cohorts of the unterrified came forth to redeem North

Carolina, led by that lion of the tribe of Democracy, old Zeb. Vance. Peace came to North Carolina, sweet as "day spring to the shipwrecked in Nova Zembla." It came to the exasperated hearts of our people like strains of music. The law was restored, good government was administered. Great Governors were in the Executive Mansion, and great and pure men administered justice with an even hand alike to all, the great and the small, the white and the black. In every district a school house was opened, in every town a school house was built for the white boys and girls. Though the Democrats of North Carolina owned all the property and paid all the taxes, they built a school house for the little negroes, too. Asylums were built for the insane, the deaf, the dumb and the blind, and every time we built an asylum for the unfortunate of our race, when necessity demanded we built one for the unfortunate of the colored race. It was generosity unequalled in history. It was good government unexampled in the jurisprudence of the world. Twenty-five years passed away. A generation passed away. We forgot the evil days of 1867 and 1869. We not only forgot but we forgave. The Republicans confessed their sins and said they would not do so any more. Yes, we forgot. We must not forget any more.

"Lord, God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

But we did forget. We were like the old preacher said to his congregation. He read in the Scriptures, "Abraham forgot Isaac, and Isaac forgot Jacob, and Jacob forgot his twelve sons." He said, "Brethren and sisters, they were a forgetful people in those days." And we were a forgetful people. For twenty-five years we had fought at every door and room and hall in this house of rest to keep this gang out. At the end of twenty-five years they broke in again, and here they were—the same old crowd, the same old days of 1867 and 1869. A little fellow was reading his Sunday School lesson to his teacher. He came across the names Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego. He could not pronounce them. The teacher asked him why he didn't know his lesson. He didn't know why he

didn't know it, but he could not pronounce those names. The teacher told them to him, and he went on. Pretty soon he came to the names again, and hung fire the second time. The teacher told him to go on. He could not go. The teacher said, "Now that is Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, and if you don't know those names the next time you come to them I will thrash you like fury." The little fellow read on. After awhile he came to them again. The teacher told him to go on, and asked him what was the matter. The little fellow broke out crying and said, "Here is them three scoundrels again." And so here they were again, worse than they were before. They turned this State over to the negroes, and the allies of the negroes. They turned the fairest cities of the East over to their control. The East swarmed with negro office holders. In the County of New Hanover there were forty negro magistrates, and in the city of Wilmington there were seventeen negro policemen and deputy sheriffs. Negro postmasters were in most of the leading cities of the East. The white people could not and would not suffer it. Bloodshed and riot prevailed wherever negro domination prevailed. The Wilmington riot came. It will come every time in North Carolina when the negro attempts to rule the white man, and if he has the majority and is entitled to vote he is entitled to rule. These men prostituted every institution in North Carolina save one to the greed of the office seeker. Our asylums are the most sacred institutions in the State. Take the hospital for the insane at Morganton. I stood the other day beneath the dome of that magnificent building of brick and stone and marble, and as I stood there and saw floating from its dome the ensign of our Commonwealth, I was proud that I was a citizen of this great State, and belonged to the great party that built it. The words of the great Judge came to my mind. They say those words shall be spoken when the great Prince of Peace and the King at the Day of Judgment shall sit upon His throne of suns and stars and pronounce the final judgment to all the sons of men. "I was afflicted and ye ministered unto me," and when some shall ask when this was done, I think that He will point to the poor, the insane, the deaf and dumb

and blind, and say to the people of North Carolina, "Inasmuch as you did it to the least of these my little ones, you did it unto me." There are little children in North Carolina that never have seen the light of morning break over the hills; they have never seen the beautiful tint of the rosebud. They have never hunted for four leaf clovers. They have never played with the little ones on the lawn. They have never looked up and seen the ineffable love that beams on a mother's face. They have never seen God's rainbow spanning earth and heaven, like a chariot race for the angels to ascend and descend. North Carolina built a home for them. It employed teachers, that they might move their fingers over the raised letters and learn to be enlightened men and women.

In all ages of the world there have been places of sanctuary. We read in the Bible that around the Holy City there were cities called Cities of Refuge, and though a man had stained his hand in the blood of his fellow man, if he fled fast enough and got within the gates of a city of refuge he was safe, because the avenger of blood could pursue no further. Victor Hugo tells us a story of the dark ages. A beautiful young girl named Esmeralda was tried for witchcraft in front of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris. There on the judgment seat sat the Inquisitor. Here was the beautiful girl. Around her roared and raged the mob of Paris, howling for her blood. She was asked what had she to say. In her innocence she said, "I am not guilty." They bared her beautiful limb and placed upon her knee the instrument of torture, and pressed it. She shrieked in pain, but in her innocence she said, "I will not confess. Have mercy." There was no mercy there. Again they pressed the instrument of torture, and in her anguish the poor, frail, tender nature broke down. She said, "I confess, but oh, have mercy." There was no mercy there. They bared her beautiful neck for the executioner's knife, and were preparing for the bloody work. All this time Quasimodo, the hunchback bell ringer of Notre Dame, was watching this scene from one of the balconies above. He let down a rope, and with the nimbleness of a cat slid down, and in the twinkling of an eye grabbed Esmeralda in his arms and ran

along the balconies of Notre Dame, crying "Sanctuary, Sanctuary." Before him the wild, infuriated mob of Paris stood back. There was no bloodthirsty villain that dared violate this Temple of the Sanctuary. But in 1895 and 1897 there was no place of sanctuary in North Carolina. They attempted to break into the asylums. They sent Jim Young, a negro, into that temple which we had built for the deaf and dumb and blind children of North Carolina. They engraved his name in marble on the cornerstone as an everlasting monument to their infamy. The Democratic Legislature of 1899 took a chisel of cold steel and took out that name, but the scar remains. This Amendment to our Constitution will forever prevent the recurrence of such times of infamy and disgrace to the white people of this State.

It is no accident that every time the negroes get in control we have bad government and anarchy and bloodshed. They stand in a solid phalanx 120,000 strong, and have stood that way for twenty-five years. If you wish to find the lowest type of the human race, whether it be man or woman, go to that quarter of the city where whites and negroes associate together on terms of social equality. There you will find humanity crawling in the filthiest slime of moral and social degradation. If you wish to find the lowest type of a public man, a man who aspires to place and power, it is the man who associates on terms of political equality with the negroes, who will go to their night meetings and appeal to their ignorance and prejudice and race hatred. Here stands this body of 120,000 voters. Unfortunately there are many white men in North Carolina who will be tempted by the emoluments and power of public office to ally themselves with these negroes. It is the only way that they can control them. With such white leaders they are always a threat to the State, and when the people become careless and inattentive they slip into power. They must obey the dictates of their masters who placed them there, and then we have negro rule, or what is worse than negro rule, the rule of the renegade white man. The people of North Carolina will not submit to such government. If they should become indifferent and submit, it would be worse than war and pestilence and famine. The scorching

winds and untimely frost may wither and blight your grain fields, and kill the corn and wheat and fruitage, but God's rain and sunshine will again clothe hill and mead in verdure, and harvest fields will wave in golden splendor. The desolating spirit of war may breathe upon this land as it has done, and leave nothing in its wake but desolation and tears, and mothers and sisters in mourning, but the olive branch of peace will grow, battle flags will be furled; on the fields of death, the roses of summer will bloom in perennial beauty, and from the soil consecrated by the blood of the brave a nobler race will come. But over such degradation of the manhood and the womanhood of this State as would come from negro domination and negro equality, there would come no rejuvenating spring. The white people of North Carolina do not intend that the negroes shall rule this State. If the negroes are entitled to vote, in every locality, in every city where they have a majority they are entitled to govern. If they are entitled to vote they are entitled to govern Wilmington, Newbern, and many of the fairest sections in North Carolina. We know that this is a lie, a glaring lie, a lie that burns into the heart of every white man in North Carolina, and they will not endure it. When the armies of Louis XIV were marching towards Holland, and it seemed as if the power of the great king was invincible, William, Prince of Orange, called the State's Generals together, and in solemn council they determined that sooner than the armies of their ancient enemy should overrun their country, they would cut loose the dykes and let the ocean roll in; that nothing should be seen above the waves except the towers and steeples of the cities of Holland. We too have come to the same unconquerable determination that an alien race shall not overrun and rule this State of our inheritance.

The negro was not born to govern. In the scale of humanity he stands the lowest, the Anglo-Saxon the highest. Consider the poor man, if you please, the one gallus fellow, with no hat on, or his hair sticking through a hat with no top to it. He may not know anything about books. He may be careless, indifferent as to his condition, but that man has flowing in his veins the blood of fifty generations of slave

governing ancestors. He has behind him two thousand years of brave manhood and you rouse him, let a negro assert superiority and the right to rule him, and that man is like a devil turned loose. He will not submit to it. We read in Tacitus that 2,000 years ago, on the banks of the Rhine, our forefathers, a race of naked, half armed barbarians, died before the legions of Caesar, but not a man surrendered. It was this blood that thundered in the veins of Cromwell and the soldiers of the Covenant, when on Marston Moor and Naseby Field they drove in headlong, right to the arms of the aliens. It was these men who stood like a granite wall at Waterloo, against which the far glancing chivalry of France, the Grand Army and the Old Guard of the Emperor, broke like surges against a rock. It was our ancestors who reclaimed this New World, who drove back the savage. Before their pioneer axes primeval forests fell down. The eastern marsh and the mountain wilderness were transformed into wide seed fields and steepled cities. In all ages they have gone forth, not as Rome sent forth her legions, to conquer, rule and crush, but to civilize and Christianize, to lay the foundation of great States and Empires and Republics, to establish Constitutional Government and administer equity to the weak.

And you men assembled here today bear testimony with me. I say it in memory of the glorious traditions of the past. I say it by the right arms of one hundred thousand Anglo-Saxon men, by the prayers of one hundred thousand Anglo-Saxon women. I swear it by the indominitable courage of the men who met the peril at Gettysburg and Bull Run, by the bones of our brothers, that are sleeping in the battle-scarred bosom of old Virginia. I say it by warrant of Him who ordains in Omnipotence the order of Dominion. I say that North Carolina is the heritage of the white man, and shall forever be ruled by the white race.

SPEECH ON RESOLUTION FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGES

NOTE: The account of the debate in the House, during the General Assembly of 1901, is taken from The News and Observer of February 28, 1901, which also gives a vivid description of the scene that day, as well as the speech of Mr. Craig.

The lightnings of a great excitement on Monday shot athwart the sky of the North Carolina General Assembly and the thunder thereof shook the very dome of the capitol.

It was the fourth and last day of the debate in the House on the resolution for impeachment of two of the Supreme Court Judges. It ended—as all had seen for days it must end—in adoption of the resolution.

The vote was 62 to 33, and its announcement was greeted with a roar of applause. The hands on the clock pointed to 2:15.

It was a history-making day, the like of which it is to be hoped North Carolina will not see again. Realizing that to witness such an event was the opportunity of a life-time, people had gone to the House early. Women folk crowded the galleries, their gay dresses making great splashes of color against the white walls and pillars. In the lobbies men elbowed each other and every available seat on the floor of the House was called into use.

Argument on the resolution began at 10:00 and the vote was to be taken at 2:00 o'clock. Of this time, the first two and a half hours were allotted to the Republicans. They spoke generally from manuscript or notes, and were plainly very guarded in their utterances. Mr. Ebbs made the principal argument; he was followed by Messrs. Owen, McIntosh, Petree and Blythe. This exhausted their two and a half hours.

The first speakers on the Democratic side were Messrs. Alexander, White of Halifax, and Morphew, who consumed five minutes each. Then Mr. Craig, introducer of the resolution in the House, was recognized to make the concluding argument.

When he arose, the hall was packed almost to suffocation,

but the stillness of death pervaded it, and every eye was turned toward the speaker.

He began slowly, deliberately, telling of the gravity of the question presented to the House and the awe with which he approached it. Then he referred to the solemnity of an impeachment proceeding, declared it the keynote of the Constitution, not put there as a scarecrow but as a shield of the law. Already the voice of the speaker had risen till he could be heard in the farthest recesses of the hall, his eyes began to gleam with the fire of enthusiasm and a roar of applause swept over his audience when he declared that "today the majesty of the people, exercised under forms handed down from the fathers, speaking through their representatives will remind the highest judges in this land that they too are amenable to law and must answer for its violation at the bar of the High Court of Impeachment."

Now the speaker's utterances became more rapid, and self-consciousness had passed away, he had forgotten himself in his subject. His words of denunciation went hissing across the hall like hailstones in a storm: "And, gentlemen, I say if there ever was a time when the extraordinary power of impeachment ought to be invoked it is now. Go search the record of all judges from the time of Jeffries down to the present and you'll find no example in which judges usurped so much power as these."

People in the lobbies crowded closer and closer to the speaker, but the stillness was unbroken and the speaker's words rang out more clear and more scathing as he proceeded. Old men who had gone through the terrors of war wept as he told how men had sacrificed life and home and all for a constitutional principle, and finally, as he pointed to the picture of Vance, and appealed to "those dumb lips to speak and guide aright the people that had so loved to honor him," a perfect whirlwind of applause swept over the floor and gallery, lasting so long that Mr. Craig had to pause until he could be heard.

It was a great speech, greatest of this memorable debate. High in thought, broad in conception, convincing in argument

and terrible in denunciation, but above all eloquent. Men were thrilled and swayed by it as only the true orator and the thinker can thrill and sway them.

Mr. Craig spoke for an hour and five minutes and when he ceased there was a wild scene of applause lasting many seconds. Members rushed forward to congratulate him on his superb effort.

Mr. Craig's Speech

"Gentlemen of the House: It is said by some that this resolution ought to have been introduced in caucus, so that our party friends might have there considered its advisability. It is not a party matter and should not be decided upon a question of politics. It should be considered on a higher plane than that. Each member of this House should consider this question according to the dictates of his own conscience and not according to the dictates of any party caucus.

"I shall not discuss the gravity of this occasion. I believe that every member of this House sits here in the full realization of his solemn and momentous responsibility. These proceedings for the last few days, or as my friend from Martin has termed it, this 'spectacle' has been witnessed with great interest by the people. I hope its necessity has been witnessed with great sorrow by all good people. It is no difficult task to bring the smaller offender to the bar of justice—the poor, the weak, the feeble—but today the majesty of the people of North Carolina, acting under the forms handed down from days of the fathers of the Revolution, and speaking through the voice of their chosen representatives, teach the great truth so plainly that 'he who runs may read,' that the highest judges are amenable to law and must answer for its violation at the bar of the High Court of Impeachment. (Applause.) I rejoice that this is yet a land of law and constitutional government. While there is none so low and so feeble as to be beneath its reach, there is none so high and great and powerful as to be above it. (Loud Applause.)

"The power of impeachment, as I understand it, is the very keystone of the Constitution. It was not put there as a scare-crow. It was not put there as dry bones to be rattled.

It was not put there for the purpose of shooting fire crackers, as the Chinese did when they attacked the legations at Pekin, but it was put there as a vital force of the Constitution, as a shield of the Constitution; not to protect the right of the private citizen—the law of the State and the Constitution do that, and if the right of any citizen be infringed he can go into court and vindicate himself and claim his rights and have these rights enforced. But this court of impeachment was organized and established by our fathers to protect and maintain that law. Whenever we fail to exercise our duty as a court of impeachment, sitting here with the power to impeach, while we do not strike directly at the liberty and the rights of the citizen, we are responsible for the destruction of the law and the Constitution, the shield and protection of every man.

"Gentlemen of the House: I say if there ever was a time in human history, if there ever was a period in this Government or any other Government when the high and extraordinary power given to this high court of impeachment should be invoked, it is here in the year 1901, and by the General Assembly elected by the people of 1900. As I say, you may search all history; you may read the history of all the judges who presided over the courts of English-speaking people—go search the bloody record of Jeffries, read the trial of the seven Bishops, examine the records of all the judges that have presided over the country from then until now, and in all the history of jurisprudence, you will find that never have judges been guilty of such usurpation to destroy a coordinate branch of the Government. (Applause.)

"In 1898 a terrible state of affairs existed in North Carolina. It was a state of affairs that brought shame and humiliation to every man and woman in the State who was proud of our past record and gloried in our past history. That serpent that had crept in secrecy and filth and slime for thirty years in this Commonwealth, in 1897 and 1895 raised for the first time its head in this capitol, and licked out its forked tongue of fire and poison and ruin. (Prolonged Applause.) The East was under its dominion and the West did not escape. It polluted and disgraced every public institution of this State.

(Applause.) The people of North Carolina were aroused; not only the men but the women also. They were determined to come to her defense and take possession of the State of our fathers, and preserve the heritage which they bequeathed to us.

"There was a great social and political revolution in North Carolina. The General Assembly of North Carolina came to this capitol in 1899 with a great mission. They came here with the great command of the people; they came here, if you please, to right this wrong; to drive these rascals out and keep them out. They came to clean out this Augean stable. (Laughter and Applause.) They cleaned it out. I thank my talented young friend from the County of Franklin for his eulogy on that Legislature. They cleaned it out according to the Constitution and according to the written law of this land. (Applause.)

"I shuddered when my friend from Martin said that they passed these laws in subversion of law and to over-ride the law. I can see how the gentleman from Madison can say that, or the gentleman from Stokes. I can remember how, on this floor, he (Stubbs) stood here and voted for these laws, and now says that the laws were intended to subvert the Constitution. (Applause.) The Legislature of 1899, after performing its great and arduous duty, adjourned and left this capitol. We left with forebodings of alarm. We left with feelings that our work might be undone, because we knew the political education and the feeling of the men who controlled another co-ordinate branch of the Government. No sooner had we adjourned and gone home than the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in violation of the prerogative conferred on them by the Constitution, began a systematic, continuous and determined attack upon the work of the General Assembly of '99. My distinguished friend from Mecklenburg said, that when the decision in the Day case was rendered, it shocked his moral conscience. It shocked the moral conscience of every lawyer and every man in North Carolina. (Applause.) It was an admitted power of the General Assembly of North Carolina to abolish an office. That was decided expressly in Hoke vs. Henderson; but when the Day case was decided by that court

it established the unheard of doctrine that no office could be destroyed until the term was out. They held that Day was not only entitled to the office, and to the emoluments thereof, but that he was entitled to the duties of the office, and until its duties ceased, the office could not be abolished. Of course the duties cannot be abolished as long as the Government stands. This is in the case of Hoke vs. Henderson. The Day case was the first. Every man in the State who had tried to keep back the social and political revolution; every man who had stood in defiance of the will of the people, the great people of this State, sent up a shout of triumph; and from those who had over-ridden North Carolina and ruined her and brought her to degradation, there went up a shout of triumph because they knew that this was the beginning of the work of destruction, that these judges had the power and would exercise that power flagrantly and defiantly.

"We effected the great reformation and went home. Within six months there was scarcely an act of that great body left; a few stock laws, some bills to protect fish in Hanging Dog Creek (laughter), a few dispensary bills and acts of incorporation. (Applause.) But the great reforms which we promised the people to carry out and which we did carry out were destroyed. What became of these? They were trampled down and ignored amid the scoffs and jeers of the men who had stood in the way of the social, moral and political progress of this State. This court wiped out the law and scoffed at the lawmaker. There was one great act that was left standing. Yes, we went before our constituents and promised these reforms to the people, and we complied with our promise. (Applause.) But if the Supreme Court is right we were wrong, and we came here under false pretenses, and the Legislature of 1899 was a sham and a delusion and a fraud. There was one law that they did not abolish; I believe there was only one act of political import of the General Assembly that was not abolished; that was the Election Law. How did we prevent that? Gentlemen of this House tell us that the court did not intend to do wrong; that it did not intend to abolish the law and ignore the General Assembly and trample on the Constitution. There is not a man in North Carolina

that does not know better. We all know it; we feel it in our consciences. (Applause.)

"This one law was not abolished, and it was not abolished because the Legislature did not adjourn. This General Assembly was seated here in perpetual session, from the 10th of March, when the regular session ended, yes, in perpetual session to the 1st of August, 1900, sitting like the Constituent Assembly of France in the throes of the Revolution. For what? Sitting here holding, as it were, a sword to protect us from our own Supreme Court. That was the only way we could protect our election law. (Applause.) Gentlemen, listen to it: You who came here, yes, every Democrat came; I do not care how poor he was; and I know many of them left home and took the last dollar out of their pockets to come here, and paid their own expenses and stayed as long as it was necessary to stay; came here when the capitol was in a state of terror! Why? Good lawyers had been employed and were in consultation with these men who were seeking to overthrow the laws of the State. We found it necessary, gentlemen, to strike from our books, so far as the election law was concerned, the great writs of mandamus and injunction. That is how this election law was protected by that General Assembly. I hated to vote for the abolition of those writs. They were a part of the great common law handed down to us from the men who laid the foundation of the English Constitution. We voted for the abolition of those writs to curb the power of this judicial oligarchy, that was the willing instrument of the men who wished to bring into contempt the Legislature of 1899 that they might again assume control of this State, and bring back to high places the minions of the black horde that had plundered the State. Who does not fear these judges? Who does not think they are dangerous?

"A great deal has been said about the court of impeachment. The court of impeachment is not a court for the punishment of the offenders; not at all. We do not deal with these judges as we deal with individuals, but we deal with them in their official capacity. It matters not what they may do, so far as this court is concerned. They may commit murder, burglary, or violate the criminal laws of this State, but

the court of impeachment could not lay one finger upon a hair of their head or one dollar of their property. Where is the man that will say that they are not dangerous to the law of this land? The General Assembly of 1899 adjourned and went home with the earnest hope for peace. Yes, gentlemen, let's adjourn and go home again with a prayer and with a hope of peace. (Laughter.) A General Assembly that will stay here from day to day in perpetual session and then be destroyed can fulminate as much as it pleases. What will it amount to? It stands discredited in this State so far as these judges can discredit it. Every single political decision that was made was made in antagonism to and to destroy the Legislature of '99, and that we all know. (Applause.)

"Gentlemen, I do not believe that these judges over-rode the Constitution and destroyed our statute law for the sole purpose of reinstating the fusion office-holders. There was a greater purpose beyond. They were going to the destruction of that which was permanent, that which guarantees that this State and her future destiny shall be controlled by the moral and intellectual manhood of North Carolina. They were blazing the way.

"Finally they came to the case of White against the Auditor. The gentleman from Forsyth was talking the other day about mental gymnastics, but by some kind of judicial gymnastics these judges leaped over all repealing statutes, they got upon the stilts of 'In Paria Materia' and leaped over the Constitution and the law and turned out Hill and the six other commissioners. They went to the dusty archives and searched up the old English doctrine of 'In Paria Materia.' They gave to it a meaning which it never had. In order to perform their duties, the law prescribed that these seven Shell Fish Commissioners must be at their posts of duty in seven different places at the same time. Although in the case of the State's Prison vs. Day they have decided that the duties of an officer could not be transferred to another, in White vs. Hill they clothed White with duties that were never given to him by any statute; and in the opinion in Abbott vs. Beddingfield they invested Abbott with the powers not only of Railroad Commissioner, but a Bank Examiner and powers

therefore exercised by the State Treasurer and the State Auditor. This was not only in violation of law and every statute, but in violation of the doctrine laid down in State's Prison vs. Day.

"Why did we pass Chapter 21, Laws of 1899? Why did we pass it, gentlemen? We were afraid that the Supreme Court would turn Hill and the other six commissioners out, were we not? And we did not intend that the court that turned them out should usurp the powers of the Government by placing any one else in, and we knew that White wanted the money that was in it, and that was all that he cared for; and so the statute provides that he could not get his money. Would the judges say that they did not know that was what the Legislature meant? I read Chapter 21, Laws of '99.

"Now, gentlemen, I thought that was where the gentleman from Franklin got confused in his argument. The act says, 'The State Treasurer shall not pay any person or persons unless such person or persons be authorized'—authorized by what? By the act of 1899. He is not forbidden to pay any person unless he is performing the duties prescribed by the Act of 1899; he is not forbidden to pay any persons unless they are carrying out the objects of the Act of 1899, but he is forbidden to pay any person unless that person is authorized by the Act of 1899. He must go to the Treasurer clothed with the authority of the Act of 1899. Hill and six other men are the only ones authorized by the Act of 1899; White is not authorized. Chapter 21 says in words as plain as can be written that he should not be paid by the Treasurer. That is the legislative mandamus. It estinates from the only power that has the right to control the finances. The Legislature had the right under the Constitution to say that he should not. When the judges said that he should it was a plain and unmistakable usurpation of power, and in defiance not only of the statute, but of Article 4, Section 9, of the Constitution. This law is so plain that no one can misunderstand it.

"What shall we do with these judges, gentlemen? That is really the only question. It is almost unanimously admitted by the Democrats of this House that they have wilfully violated the law and the Constitution; that they are impeachable.

The question is, what shall we do? The gentleman from Wilson in his speech in their defense, said in substance that they had violated the law and culminated in violating the law, and that we ought to fulminate against them. What? Fulminate and fulminate and culminate in fulminating? (Laughter.) Was there not a fulmination from this General Assembly in June, 1900, and when every one of these opinions had been handed down? Has there not been delivered a warning to these judges in the shape of a dissenting opinion? Why shall we fulminate? Has not the Chief Justice defiantly declared that any threat of impeachment will not deter him. A fulmination such as the gentleman of Wilson would have us adopt, is nothing more nor less than a threat of impeachment. The gentleman from Wilson properly says that if a threat would not deter him he ought to be impeached; if it would not deter him it is futile. I do not mean to reflect upon the gentleman from Wilson. He is one of the ablest men in this State and one of the best beloved men, whose presence honors this General Assembly. I certainly would not reflect on the courage of men who favor the substitute, for men who can walk up and face a proposition like that, could stand unterrified before an army with banners.

"What shall we do? The gentleman from Wilson says we must not apply the heroic remedy. We have applied heroic remedies in North Carolina. But for heroic action we would not be here. I will ask the gentleman from Scotland how was it that only two votes were cast against the Amendment in his county if it were not on account of the heroism of the men of Scotland? (Applause.) Why is the high-minded and able son of Wilson here to serve his County and his State except by heroic action of his constituents? In the mountain section of this State I have stood in the presence of armed and enraged multitudes, where there were three Republicans to one Democrat, and proclaimed the truth of Democracy. The men that stood by me were heroes, every one of them. (Applause.) They feared not death itself. They defied the power of the enemies of this State. Yes, in defiance of the Federal Judges and Federal Power, the people of this State have dared to do their duty and enforce the law. (Renewed

Applause.) That was heroic action. And, gentlemen, remembering those men, how they did their duty like heroes, I propose to take heroic action here today.

"You (pointing to the gentleman from Scotland, amid applause), and you (pointing to the gentleman from Wilson), have sat here and had it hurled in your face by the gentleman from Madison that you were here by fraud and violation of law. I have stood upon this floor and hurled back their charges of slander upon the brave men of the East. (Prolonged Applause.) The 175,000 men that stand behind us are heroes, and were willing to apply heroic remedy to save North Carolina. Shall the heroism cease with them? The hour has come when we must pull down from the high places the men who would destroy the work that the people of North Carolina have accomplished. Yes, I for one, am willing to apply the heroic remedy. (Loud Applause.)

"Talk about public sentiment; I do not know how public sentiment is. It is not my greatest concern how it is. My greatest concern is to know the right and do it. I think that public sentiment is about all one way. I have heard from the men of the mountains, and know that they are with me. In the towns of the State there are some, I will admit, who are afraid of what other people may think, and they are alarmed. There is a public sentiment here against the impeachment, a public sentiment manufactured by a powerful lobby. (Applause.) It is always thus, when you attack men in places of power. The people have no lobby. They are at home attending to their daily occupations. We gentlemen are here to represent them, that great constituency that has no lobby. So far as I am concerned, I defy that lobby. (Loud and Prolonged Applause.) Members of this House can hardly walk the streets without being button-holed off in corners, and even the Senate itself—the court to try this case, has been approached.

"There was a public sentiment in this State when Holden was impeached. Some people were frightened, and advised against it. He, too, employed great lawyers to defend him. There was one that he could not employ. Vance was offered a fee of $5,000, and though he was poor, almost needing the

necessities of life, he replied that no amount of money could purchase his services against his people. He said he could live and die in poverty, but there was not gold enough in their coffers to buy him. (Applause.) You older men remember those dark days of '68. There were great men in this State that counselled submission to a victorious enemy. You remember how the great leader of the people stood upon the portico of the National Hotel and hurled defiance at the carpet-baggers and scalawags. (Applause.) His voice rang like a trumpet note from the mountains to the sea. He saved North Carolina. I wish that we had a Vance today. (Applause.) Would that (pointing to Vance's picture) that lion heart could speak again; that from those lips of 'love and melting pity and greatness and fiery wrath,' there could come one bugle call. This public sentiment would vanish. He would make it more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for these men in North Carolina who are trampling down our Constitution and destroying our State. (Loud Applause.) Oh, that his spirit could descend upon some of his beloved and talented followers today, and breathe into them the spirit of the men of '68 and '70 and '76. There would be none of this lobbying here.

"This is not the Constitution of '37 nor of '68 nor of '75. It is the Constitution that has been building since the day when William the Norman set his foot upon Britain. It is Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Mecklenburg, the Declaration of Philadelphia, moulded into one great organic law.

"The question is, shall we preserve this Constitution, this heritage, from our fathers? The $825.00 is a small matter, but if they violate the Constitution for that, then for a million dollars—for the special tax bonds, they would destroy it and leave not one stone upon another. It was for this Constitution that our fathers went to battle in 1861. (Applause.) It was not for the preservation of slavery but for the preservation of their rights guaranteed by the organic law. It was when the Constitution was violated that the drums began to beat, armies set out, artillery rattled along, clouds of cavalry

galloped in the storm, and Stonewall Jackson, transfigured into an arch angel of war, advanced amid the thunders of battle with a united people at his back. (Loud Applause.) It was not until the bodies of our brothers and fathers had been crushed into the bloody earth by the heel of an invading army that the Constitution was destroyed. The spirit of our people was not broken; they hobbled home on crutches from Appomattox; with empty sleeves they came; they had nothing but the old Confederate uniform, but they vouchsafed to us an undying devotion to Constitutional Government. In the name of the men who died on Cemetery Hill, in the name of the men who met the peril in the Wilderness and in trenches around Richmond, in the spirit of those men we will defend and preserve our Constitution today, I tell you it does require heroic action. (Loud Applause.)

"It is a time of judicial usurpation. I wish I had time to talk about it. One of the great political parties of this country has felt it necessary to make a solemn declaration against government by injunction. We have felt the power of a Federal Judge from South Carolina. He enjoined the constituted officers of this State from levying taxes on powerful corporations. (Applause.) The usurpation of power by judges must be stopped. It is more to be dreaded today than the advances of an imperial army. (Loud Applause.)

"If this supreme oligarchy can flagrantly and imperiously destroy the statutes of this State one after another, what has become of the government by the people? Do these judges expect that they can forever continue in their unprecedented usurpations and never be stopped? Do they think that they can tear down one after another every rule of law and every statute that conflicts with their partisan will, and that one will say to them, nay? They cannot forever shield themselves behind this veil of sanctity with which a false sentiment has protected the courts. (Applause.) The time has come when the temple must be purified and the sacrilegious priests must be driven out. If what we have seen during the past two years is in accordance with the law and the Constitution, then indeed is this Government, with its boasted

institutions and three co-ordinate independent branches come to naught.

"It is a poor player that struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is seen no more.

"It is a tale by an idol, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing——

" 'And tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, creeps in its petty pace from day to day till the last syllable of recorded time, and all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death.'

"We are here to protect our Constitution. That is our first and highest duty. There are no politics in this proceeding. We have not allowed politics to be dragged into it. The official heads of the Republican Party have denounced this proceeding as wicked, and declared that it was instituted for the purpose of packing the Supreme Court to consummate a scheme of disfranchisement. In the name of every honest man in this Legislature, in the name of our great constituency, I denounce that as a vile slander. (Applause.) If the Supreme Court, as Pritchard and Pearson and Linney have intimated, intend to declare our amendment unconstitutional, that this court has been packed for that purpose, it ought to be unpacked. (Applause.) We adopted that great measure. After thirty years of struggle we came up to it through tribulation and tears and heroism. The people of this State ordained as amid fire and trumpet voices that it should be a law unto us and to our children, that it should bring peace and good government and a feeling of security and when Pritchard and Pearson throw that down before this House as guage of battle we pick it up, we will defend it, we will maintain it at all hazards. We will strip from the shoulders of unworthy judges the ermine that was worn by Gaston and Battle and Merrimon, and Smith and Ruffin, the great judges and chancellors whose learning and virtues have adorned the judicial history of the English-speaking people. (Loud Applause.)

"We may build monuments to the great men of the past; we can best honor our fathers by preserving the institutions which they have left us. In stern condemnation of this crime

against our law, in dutiful respect of our fathers whose traditions have been ignobly thwarted, in the name of the Constitution which has been outraged — of the laws trampled down—of peace destroyed, of the will of the people crushed to earth, and in the name of the Heavenly Father whose service is perfect justice, I demand that David M. Furches, Chief Justice of North Carolina, and Robert M. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors in office." (Loud and Prolonged Applause.)

JOINT DEBATE WITH SENATOR PRITCHARD

(Charlotte, October 9th, 1902)

NOTE: Mr. Craig said he always felt that he got the best of Senator Pritchard, but that nobody else seemed to agree with him. The fact was that a large majority of Democrats at that time were not for him for Senator, neither were any of the Republicans, so that when he faced Senator Pritchard in debate, he faced the solid opposition of the Republicans, and the opposition of the friends of all the other Democratic candidates, leaving his boosters in the minority. Nevertheless, the Democrats were loyal and enthusiastic for him at all of the joint debates.

Vast audiences greeted the two everywhere, and by the close of the campaign, which was in Asheville, Mr. Craig had begun to feel the strain, and well wishing friends had prepared for him, instead of the customary glass of water on the rostrum table, a glass of crystal "Mountain Dew," properly diluted and sweetened! Mr. Craig spoke first, and did not feel the need of this stimulant, but he was followed by Senator Pritchard, who after speaking some time, saw what appeared to him to be a glass of clear spring water, and drank the whole contents, much to the amusement of those who knew, as it was a well known fact that the Senator was a teetotler. However, he seemed to enjoy the refreshment, and was afterwards frequently known to comment on the excellence of Asheville water!

Mr. Craig and Senator Pritchard (afterwards Judge Pritchard of the United States Court of Appeals) were always the best of friends during and after this debate. Their friendship felt no reaction in spite of the heated strife often reached between their respective adherents.

After the death of Judge Pritchard, a few years ago, Ex-Governor Craig, at the invitation of the family, pronounced a eulogy on the late Judge and Senator, at the memorial services before the United States Circuit of Appeals, in which he spoke most feelingly of his friendship for Judge Pritchard, paying a high tribute to his personal character as a citizen, a statesman, and a judge. Among other things he said:

"Judge Pritchard came from East Tennessee—a blue-eyed, curley-headed boy, without money or influence, to work out his own fortune and destiny. The primitive, unharnessed men of the mountains knew then that the heir-apparent to the throne of their allegiance had appeared. Ever afterwards they followed and trusted him as their friend and leader."

SPEECH OF HON. LOCKE CRAIG

Delivered At Charlotte In Joint Debate With Senator Pritchard On October 9th, 1902.

(Mr. Craig spoke one hour and fifteen minutes. Mr. Pritchard replied in a speech of one hour and twenty minutes, and Mr. Craig had a rejoinder of fifteen minutes. Mr. Craig's opening speech is given below.)

To address an audience like this on questions of great moment is to assume a serious responsibility. Charlotte is not only a centre of southern industry but it is a thought-

germinating centre as well. When I look upon this assembly of intellectual men and women I realize that today, as in the important epochs of the past, the people of Mecklenburg are a potential factor in the building of the State and in the making of her laws.

"Equal rights to all; special privilege to none," is the axiom of just government and the corner stone of Democratic faith. While the truth of this aphorism is universally admitted as a theory, its practical application in matters of government has been and is strenuously denied.

The present condition of business and industry is forcing again upon the American people the question of tariff taxation. The Republican Party stands today for the theory of protection in the extreme. The Democratic Party advocates, as it always has, a tariff for revenue to meet the expenses of the Government honestly and economically administered. The Republican Party believes that the way to promote the welfare and happiness of the people is to legislate for the benefit of the privileged classes, and that if certain privileges be conferred upon the upper classes so as to promote their welfare the prosperity resulting will leak down and finally reach the people. The Democratic Party believes that the way to promote the welfare of all the people, is to do justice to all people, to grant equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

The policy of the protective tariff cannot be defended upon the principles of justice. The Government has a right to levy taxes upon its citizens to meet the expenses of the Government, but if it go one step further and levy taxes for the benefit of any individual or any class it does what it has no right to do. This protective policy always has and always will be exercised in the interest of the wealthy and powerful, and against the interest of the great body of the people. It is by this policy that certain sections of the Union have grown rich and that the South has been kept poor.

North Carolina is mostly an agricultural State. The production of cotton, corn and wheat is her principal industry. These articles cannot be protected as their price is determined, not in the home protected market, but in the markets of the world. No amount of tariff on corn, wheat or cotton can pos-

sibly do North Carolina any good, because the market value of these articles is fixed, not at home, but abroad. So it is with all the staple products of the South. Nearly all of that which the South sells, she sells in the open free trade market; and most of the articles she buys she is forced to buy in the protected market of monopoly. To demonstrate that the Republican policy of protection has not added to the value of the staple crops of the South, I cite the fact that in 1898, under the high tariff of the Dingley Bill, corn, wheat and cotton reached their lowest value. Corn was 28 cents a bushel, wheat 58 cents, hay $6.00 a ton, cotton 4½ cents a pound.

Senator Pritchard talks about an imaginary trade that Senator Simmons made with a New England manufacturer whereby Senator Simmons promised to put lumber on the free list for the benefit of the New Englander in consideration of the New Englander's voting the Democratic ticket. That is all in Senator Pritchard's imagination. But what trade has been actually made by Senator Pritchard and his party? The people of North Carolina buy their clothing, their farming utensils, and nearly all of their manufactured articles from the Middle and New England States. The price of these is increased from 25 to 100 per cent by the Dingley Bill. For these articles we pay these northern manufacturers the full market price plus a bonus of millions of dollars every year and they buy from us the products of our farms at a price fixed in the open market.

The Senator and his party have given them protection on all of the valuable necessities of life and in return he boasts of the protection on scrap mica and chicken roosters. The Senator claims that the Dingley Bill has increased the price of our lumber, but his argument on this proves too much. The tariff on lumber is $2.00 per thousand and since 1894 the price of lumber has increased many times that amount per thousand. The tariff of $2.00 could only raise the price $2.00 for as soon as the price rises above $2.00 it floats over the tariff wall and mingles and competes with the price in the outside world. But lumber is like most of the other southern products. Its value is fixed in the markets abroad and its price is regulated by the demand. All of our valuable lumber is exported and com-

petes with the lumber of the world in the markets of London and Berlin. I admit that the tariff does have a tendency to raise the price of mica, but I submit that the whole government policy ought not to be based upon the workings of a few little mica mines in Mitchell County. I would like to see these miners prosper but I am not willing for the Southern people to pay millions of dollars on account of the tariff to the northern manufacturers and in return get a few hundred dollars benefit on account of the tariff on mica.

The future development of North Carolina is dependent largely upon cotton growing and cotton spinning. In 1900 the cotton crop of North Carolina was worth more than twenty million dollars and there are 250 cotton mills in North Carolina that cost $33,632,080. In the manufacture of cotton this State is advancing more rapidly than any State in the Union. This is the pride of North Carolina and Charlotte is the nucleus of this great and growing industry. This afternoon I rode along the east of your city and looked upon this metropolis of enterprise. Here and there were the tall smoke stacks of the cotton mills, the mainspring of the commercial life of this city and section. Surely the builders of these cotton mills ought to be encouraged. They give employment to people and capital; they benefit the farmer by increasing the price of his cotton; they add wealth and population to the State; they are building our cities; they have changed Charlotte from a provincial town to the leading commercial and industrial city of the State. The party or law that throws an obstacle in the way of the development of our cotton mill industry is a public enemy. The men whose capital and whose energy are building these mills are the benefactors of the State. They ought to be encouraged and this great southern industry now fairly beginning is entitled to consideration. The Republican Party by its tariff schedule has done all that it could to cripple this industry. Seventy-five per cent of the cost of a cotton mill is for machinery; of a two hundred thousand dollar mill one hundred and fifty thousand dollars is for machinery. On this machinery there is a tariff tax of from forty to forty-five per cent—sixty thousand dollars approximately. Before our enterprising man can build a factory

and turn a wheel in Charlotte he must pay sixty thousand dollars to some northern syndicate for the privilege. Sixty thousand dollars taken from the industry of this section and given as a bonus to some syndicate in Pennsylvania or New England!

The County of Mecklenburg in this way has lost more than a million dollars—more than a million dollars earned by the industry and energy of her people gone forever and without any compensation. In this way, on cotton mill machinery alone North Carolina has been forced to pay more than ten million dollars as a bonus to northern syndicates. This ten million dollars our people have earned and others have gotten it by unjust laws without consideration, and yet the Republican Party pretends to be the friend of enterprise in the South. Whenever we build a new cotton mill or buy a new machine this process of extortion goes on. It is not strange that the mill business is not in a flourishing condition. The wonder is that it has done as well as it has. While this great wrong is perpetrated on the people of the South we may expect mills to close down as they have done. It is not strange that "progress halts on palsied feet."

The tariff affects agriculture as it has the manufacture of cotton. On all the farming utensils and on most of the necessities of life that the farmer has to buy he must pay a bonus from 25 to 100 per cent. As the great body of our people are engaged in agriculture the bounty that the farmers pay to the protected interest of the North amounts to immeasurably more than the cotton mill men pay. It is this policy that for thirty-five years has impoverished the South while the North has made millions by keeping the farmer poor. It is a policy that will always be enforced as long as the Republican Party controls the Government. That party was born to hatred of the South and its whole policy has been to the ruin of the South. The only hope that the southern farmer and the southern manufacturer has is the restoration to power of the Democratic Party, the party of the people and of the whole Union; the special friend of no section and no class, but the party that would administer even handed

justice and righteous laws to all the people in every section of the Union.

Senator Pritchard and the Republican Party claim that the Republican administration and Republican laws have brought to us prosperity. They say that in 1892 times were good, that during the Democratic administration under Cleveland times were hard and that prosperity came again with the restoration to power of the Republican Party. The basic assumption of their argument is that times were good in 1892 and '93. This is not a fact. In 1892 our financial system was in unsound condition and industry was demoralized. As an evidence of this fact Cleveland's administration borrowed six hunderd and sixty-two millions of dollars, but borrowed this money by selling bonds printed upon plates prepared by Foster, Secretary of the Treasury under President Harrison. Senator Pritchard says that Foster knew that the Democrats were going to borrow money and that he had the plates prepared because he was a political prophet. It does not take any political prophet to know that it is and always will be necessary for the Democrats to borrow money after the Republicans have had a chance at the treasury; it does not take a prophet nor the son of a prophet to know that when they have their hands on the public funds either State or National and are driven out of office they take all with them and leave nothing behind. It was necessary to borrow this money because of the unsound condition of our finances, a condition created by thirty years of Republican profligacy and misrule. As a further evidence of the fact that times were hard in 1892 we must remember that it was then the Populist Party was organized. This was a protest, though an unwise protest, against the unjust laws that then bore heavily on the farming people. We were entering the panic which reached the crisis in 1893. Baring Bros., of London, failed in 1890, which was the beginning of this era of financial depression; in 1893 and 1894 we were suffering from the disease with which the body politic was afflicted long before the election of Cleveland. From 1893 and after the passage of the Wilson Tariff Bill times began to improve. The condition of the people got better. These are facts of history even now fresh in the

memory of everyone and it is small politics to assume the contrary.

I have already attempted to show how the Dingley Bill cannot bring prosperity to us. To take from a man or an industry from 25 to 100 per cent of his just earnings certainly does not tend to make him prosperous. The Republicans cannot claim with any show of reason that the Dingley Bill brought prosperity to this country for the same prosperity we have is world wide. They are enjoying it in England, Germany, France and Japan. Senator Pritchard would hardly claim that the tariff on mica has brought prosperity to the empires of the world. His argument is based upon the old fallacy, "post hoc ergo procter hoc." Whatever prosperity we have has come in spite of the Dingley Bill. Whatever prosperity our people have had comes to them by unremitting toil and by hard work of muscle and brain. If our farmers have prosperity it is because they have gone out in the early morning and worked hard all day and dug it out of the ground; it has not come to them by the Dingley Bill. At half past four in the morning at my home in Asheville I hear the long, loud, hoarse whistle of the cotton mill, and when I inquire why it blows so long and so loud they tell me that little children must be awakened out of their beds that they may go to the mill while it is yet dark and work for weary, weary hours until it is dark again. They do this to accumulate a little money to buy clothes and school books when school opens. It is by work like this that the poor people make a living for themselves and their families.

Man has not only worked with his muscle but he has worked with his brain. He has looked into the recesses of nature and there discovered her mysterious forces. He has harnessed the steam to his trains and drives them across the country with a speed faster than that of the fastest race horse. He looked into the clouds and saw the lightning and bridled it and harnessed it and drives it like a docile animal, and when it springs from the dynamo instead of the rattle of the terrifying thunder we hear the song of a thousand looms and the music of ten thousand spindles. Steam and electricity have taken the place of brute force and the machine performs

all the delicate functions of human hands. Man by his work and genius has created wealth and in thousand fold abundance. Yes, I will admit that prosperity has come—I will admit that it has come to the men to whom the city of Charlotte has paid more than a million dollars in bounty. I will admit that it has come to the syndicates and trust magnates of the world; it has come to those who "toil not, neither do they spin," but it has not come to the people as it ought to have come.

The American people are the most industrious people of the world and the smartest people. We have in America a conservative, hardworking citizenship. They do not owe the Republican Party for what they have earned by their muscle and by their brain, and yet they tell us that if the workingman can start out early in the morning with a bucket full of coarse food and work hard all day and every day that he may make an humble living for his family, he must come back home at night and fall upon his knees and thank Mark Hanna and the Dingley Bill for the great prosperity that he enjoys.

Perhaps you have heard the story of the little fellow who carried his father's corn to the mill for the first time. He didn't know anything about the management of the mill and pretty soon he saw the miller come and dip his toll dish deep into the sack and pour his toll into the bin. Then he poured the corn into the hopper, shaking out every grain. The little fellow was looking on in wide-eyed astonishment and when the miller dropped the sack the little fellow grabbed it and bolted out of the door, he ran home as fast as he could, the miller after him. The little fellow was fleet of foot and outran the miller and got home and fell exhausted into the arms of his father, who inquired what on earth was the matter. The little fellow replied that the miller had stolen the last grain of corn and given him a devil of a race for the sack but he had managed to save that.

The working people of the country make all the corn and carry it to the mill; they build all the palaces and all the railroads; they make and spin all of the cotton and if they have even a sack left Senator Pritchard tells them they ought to be thankful for that; that this is prosperity and that they

are enjoying this prosperity because he had the tariff put on mica and chicken roosters.

The Republican Party stands for the policies that prevent an industrial upbuilding of the South as a section, and the deserved prosperity of the people, and it also stands against the great body of her people. It stands for monopoly and the trusts. Any man or corporation engaged in legitimate enterprise should have the protection and encouragement of the laws and receive just treatment. An individual or corporation, rich or poor, great or small, weak or powerful, should be considered as a vital part of the body politic and should receive encouragement. Corporations are agents of industry and great corporations are necessary to carry on gigantic enterprise and for the full realization of the possibilities of this progressive age. They are creatures of state and should be the agents of progress, but when a corporation has grown to such proportions that it will not tolerate competition, when it is no longer a legitimate enterprise, when it has for its aim the destruction of all enterprise and the paralysis of industry that it may for its own advantages arbitrarily fix the price of the necessities of life, when in the enjoyment of criminal monopoly it extortions upon the helpless, the defenseless and the poor to satisfy its greed, the Government should interfere. Such an organization as I have described is the modern "trust." These criminals are protected by the Republican Party. There are about 280 of them in the United States. As shown by the testimony before the Industrial Committee they control about 75 per cent of the manufactured product of the country. In their interest the Republican Party manages this Government.

Senator Pritchard has defined the trust as a cancer and says this American cancer cannot be removed from the body politic without causing death. This is a humiliating admission for the Republican Party to make. After controlling the Government for thirty-five years they admit that we are affliced with an incurable cancer that is eating away our life. Senator Pritchard calls himself a cancer doctor but he is not. He refuses to apply the knife to the cancer. To show his attitude and the attitude of his party on the question of trusts,

I read the following resolution introduced in Congress by Mr. Richardson, of Tennessee:

"That when it is shown to the satisfaction of the President and Secretary of the Treasury that articles and commodities are manufactured and controlled or produced in the United States by a trust or trusts, the importation of such articles and commodities from foreign countries shall be free of duty until, in the opinion of the President and Secretary of the Treasury, such manufacture, control, or production shall have ceased."

This resolution could not possibly affect any legitimate industry in this country. It would do nothing but take the production away from the criminal. The Republicans, of course, refused to consider it. Senator Pritchard says he would not vote for it to save Mr. Richardson's life. Senator Pritchard may be willing to see Mr. Richardson die for applying to his party such a severe test that exposes their hypocrisy; but the object is not to save Mr. Richardson's life but to stop the extortions of these criminal organizations. When this test is applied the Republican Senator from North Carolina sent there to represent the people, the honest hard-working people of this State, when he is forced to take a stand, at the dictation of his party he stands by the millionaire combines and against his own people whose interest he should protect. We will repudiate the party and the senator that repudiate us in this hour of trial and we want a Senator who will stand by the people and not by the criminal trusts.

To demonstrate the iniquity of the trusts I call your attention to the fact that they sell the necessities of life and articles of industry, such as agricultural implements, cotton mill machinery and the like, cheaper to the foreigner than they sell the same class of implements to the home people. They have two sets of customers and two sets of prices. One set of customers the people of the United States, the people of Mecklenburg County; the other the foreigners that the Republican Party has always pretended to protect us against. Yet the trust under the protection of the Dingley Bill charges the American farmer and the American mill man from 25 to

100 per cent more for the same class of articles than it charges the foreigner.

The Democrats in Congress propose to stop that. Here is another resolution introduced and supported by the Democrats.

"That when it is shown to the satisfaction of the President and Secretary of the Treasury that any article or commodity which is manufactured in the United States is sold in a foreign country more cheaply than the price at which the same article or commodity is sold in the United States, the rate of duty on such article or commodity shall be reduced by the President and Secretary of the Treasury 50 per cent of the present rate, or to such extent as to prevent the continuance of such irregularity and injustice, and remove the indirect tariff bounty which promotes the same."

The Republicans refuse not only to protect the American people but refuse to allow anyone else to withhold the hand of the sandbaggar and the robber. They would not allow this resolution which appeals to the justice and fairness of every man to become the law. This protection of the trusts by the law is so notoriously wrong that the Republican Convention in the great Agricultural State of Iowa has declared against it and for the Democratic position. Mr. Babcock, the Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, has declared that this protection of the trusts cannot be defended. Secretary Shaw admits that it is wrong and the Rough Rider who charged with waving sword up the bloody, storm-swept heights of San Juan could not face the storm of opposition to this policy that is rising in the great Northwest. He started to the State of Iowa and the Northwest but hurt his leg and had to come back. He now says that the tariff ought to be readjusted. The people say so but Senator Pritchard says not an "i" shall be dotted nor a "t" crossed in this Tariff Bill. He is like the boy who "stood on the burning deck whence all but him had fled." Brave Senator.

The tariff policy of the Republican Party discriminates against the Southern people and in favor of trusts and syndicates at home and tends to prevent the legitimate expansion

of our trade abroad. If we prohibit foreign nations from trading with us, they will be more inclined to prohibit our trade from entering their ports, if we refuse to neighbor with them, they will not feel as friendly to us. Our trade with other nations cannot continue to increase unless we exchange with them. It is upon this foreign trade that the price of our manufactured cotton goods depends and this trade must be procured by peace—not by war.

The Philippine War is the most stupendous blunder of the ages. Manila is not the gateway to the Orient, it is five hundred miles out of the current of trans-oceanic commerce. Nor is it necessary to own a country in order to trade with it, that was the medieval idea, but not the custom of modern civilization. In the attempt to conquer these islands we have already expended, according to Senator Hoar, the greatest living Republican statesman, and according to Edward Atkinson, the great statistician, more than six hundred million dollars. Our trade with the Philippine Islands will never be worth the interest on this vast sum of money. Ten thousand American boys have been sacrificed, the life of each one is worth more than all that trade. A mother in Asheville received a telegram announcing the death of her child, after this came letters day after day from the dead boy written while he was in the full enjoyment of life—voices from the grave. You cannot justify this war, you cannot defend its cruelties. In the language of Senator Hoar:

"We repealed the Declaration of Independence. We changed the Monroe Doctrine from a doctrine of eternal righteousness and justice, resting on the consent of the governed, to a doctrine of brutal selfishness, looking only to our own advantage. We crushed the only republic in Asia. We made war on the only Christian people in the East. We converted a war of glory to a war of shame. We vulgarized the American flag. We introduced perfidy into the practice of war. We inflicted torture on unarmed men to extort confession. We put children to death. We established reconcentrado camps. We devastated provinces. We baffled the aspirations of a people for liberty."

And yet there is no peace. Let this Government proclaim that we will treat these islands as we did Cuba and peace will come at once, and it will not come until then. We, today, control only so much of that territory as is held by the Army of Occupation. You may establish your law by the policy you are pursuing, but it will be the law of Torquemada in Aragon, the rule that the Duke of Alva established in the Netherlands. You may make that land a desolation and call it peace, but it will be "the peace that reigned in Warsaw."

We believe in the expansion of trade, we need the trade of China and Japan and of all the nations of the earth. Give the expansive energy of the American people an opportunity and it will establish the empire of our commerce all over the world. The flag of the Republic should float on every sea as an emblem of universal emancipation, the ensign of a world power whose supremacy in arts and commerce is acknowledged by all the nations. The policy of the Democratic Party would stop this inglorious war and bring peace with honor and expanding commerce. Everywhere else on the earth has the sound of war died away. I say Amen to the prayer of the great old Roman Pontiff when he asked that his eyes might close on worldwide peace. "Oh, let the bugles sound the truce of God to the whole world forever." Let the iron band of selfishness and force and war with which Republicanism has bound the earth give place to the golden Cestus of peace that shall encircle the world and enlighten and bless the children of men.

In North Carolina we are in the morning of, I trust, a brighter and a grander day, a day of liberty of thought and speech—full of hope. This is so because two years ago over all opposition our Anglo-Saxon manhood declared it as a part of our Constitution, wrote it there as an everlasting covenant, an immutable decree that never again should this great State be cursed with the damnation of negro domination. Yes, the people are free to think as they please and vote as they please,

but who brought about this freedom and who exhausted all their energy to hold us in bondage?

* * * * * * * *

The Amendment has been adopted; it is now the law, and not a single native-born white man has been disfranchised. You say that some have been disfranchised by failure to pay the poll tax; not so. Some have failed to qualify themselves to vote at the next election, but they are not permanently disfranchised. If an able-bodied man under fifty years of age will not willingly contribute two dollars toward the expense of this great Government, whose protection and privileges he enjoys to the full extent, he ought not to expect to participate in the making and administering of the laws. Senator Pritchard says there are thirty thousand of these men. Thirty thousand able-bodied men in North Carolina unable to raise two dollars after two years' notice! Thirty thousand able-bodied paupers in this State! In this era of great prosperity! Senator Pritchard ought to repudiate this statement or hush his prosperity argument.

But now he tells us that the boys who come of age after 1908 will be disfranchised; this might be the case were the Republicans to control the State. Dr. Curry said that in 1895 and 1897 they set back the cause of education twenty-five years in North Carolina. In 1868 and 1869 we had a large school fund, it could not be used as it was collected, for the boys were in the army; it had been accumulated there under the honest administration of our great War Governor. When the Republicans came into power they laid their unholy hands upon this sacred fund and stole and squandered it. By this great crime many a good man in North Carolina is now without an education—we will never trust them again. The Democratic Party will guarantee to every boy in North Carolina the opportunities of an education.

For two years the Democratic Party has been in power; the Republicans say that we have spent too much money. How have we spent it? Three hundred thousand dollars for debts created by their profligacy and theft, one of the thieves is now in the penitentiary. Yes, we spent more money, but taxes

have not been increased. They complain that we raised the Governor's salary a thousand dollars a year, Governor Russell recommended that, but if we could trade off Governor Russell every day for a chivalrous, high-minded Aycock, the friend of the people, the apostle of education, we would have a prosperity greater than that of the Dingley Bill. Yes, we spent more money, and two hundred thousand dollars went to educate the children of the State. They complain that we spent the money, yet they are ashamed to complain of the manner in which we have spent it. We regard not their complaints. The people of North Carolina endorsed the appropriation of this money. Yes, we spent more money, two hundred thousand dollars went to pension the Confederate soldiers. We will take care of these old veterans, we owe them a debt of gratitude. In the wreck and ruin of war we were rich in the priceless heritage of their memory.

"They were men whom death could not terrify, whom defeat could not dishonor." They glorified the fallen cause by the simple manhood of their lives and by the heroism of their death. They have cast over the South the glamour of an immortal chivalry and consecrated the cause of Dixie with the blood of an immortal sacrifice. It was devotion like this that made the South, though torn and bleeding, beautiful and splendid in her desolation, and in her woe. For forty years they have been the builders of the New South and the projectors of her larger destiny. The Federal Government provides for the soldiers that followed its flag. That is right. We will provide for the soldiers of the armies of the "storm-cradled nation that fell." When Senator Pritchard was a member of the Legislature in 1895 he and his party voted against giving one cent of pension to the needy heroes that had hobbled home on crutches from Appomatox.

There is one class of men whom we do not believe in pensioning—the deserter. There are men here who remember the last two years of the war. The world was against us. Armies were crashing down upon us like a ring of fire. Sherman was marching to the sea and leaving behind him ashes and desolation. In that time there were men whose courage never

faltered. Ragged and hungry and bleeding they stood in the trenches around Richmond and Petersburg. They stood with an unfailing devotion, though sometimes they knew that their wives and little ones at home were living on the corn they picked up from the wagon ruts of the invading armies. They died remembering Dixie like the Greeks remembering Argos—in the language of the old song: "While one kissed a ringlet of thin gray hair and one kissed a lock of brown."

But there were some who did not stand. Traitors and deserters they were. They turned their backs upon the only home and country that they ever had. They sneaked through the lines. They threw away the old gray uniform and put on the blue. They came back to shoot and kill, to rob the defenseless wives and mothers of their comrades who were fighting and dying at the front; to burn their homes and to murder the innocent. To these men Senator Pritchard has given a royal pension. He said to the hero of the Confederacy that he might starve, but with the money of the honest people he feeds and clothes the deserter. Yes, I denounce this in the name of the forty thousand sons of North Carolina who sleep tonight beneath the sod in the battle-scarred bosom of old Virginia. I denounce it in the name of the men who rushed defiant of death through the storm of Chickamauga and Gettysburg. In the name of every Confederate soldier I denounce it. In memory of the women who were robbed and the men who were murdered I denounce it. In the name of all brave men who love courage and despise cowardice, who believe in fidelity to comrades and in love for home and in loyalty to a great cause, I denounce this infamous act. I do not stand alone. Here is the resolution of the last Reunion of Confederate Veterans of North Carolina:

"Resolved, That we condemn and denounce the Act of Congress which rewards treachery and perfidy by giving pensions to Confederate deserters for fighting against their former flag and comrades."

That resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted. Senator Pritchard has eulogized General Carr as a Confederate soldier. The resolution is what he said for he

was there in command. He has eulogized Cy Watson as a Confederate soldier. Cy Watson said at Henderson that he hoped that the last man who wore the gray would die and be buried and be forgotten before the South forgave the men who rewarded the traitors and deserters of the lost cause. The judgment of the South is that the party that starves the soldier and pensions the deserter should be accursed forever.

We provided for the institutions of charity. The humanity of the people demands this, although the Republican Party objected. We provided for the necessities of the University and the State Schools. The Republicans would take from the soldier his pension, withhold the blessed gifts of charity from the unfortunate, and cripple our institutions of learning. The Democrats have appropriated this money honestly, and, I believe, wisely. We defy them to show where a single dollar has been dishonestly applied. The present Democratic administration, as all preceding ones, is honest and above reproach, while every Republican administration has brought shame upon the State and left every Department of the Government reeking with scandal.

Turn over this State to the crowd that has polluted it, that has humiliated our people? Never again in this generation! We read in the Good Book that in olden times the Children of Israel were in the house of bondage and toiling under the lash of Egyptian task masters. And Moses came to them and spoke to them and told them to gird their loins and get away from this land of Egypt and out of this house of bondage, and to go to their own land and take it. The Children of Israel heard him, and though the Great Sea intervened and a wilderness of storm and pestilence and earthquake, they obeyed the voice of Moses and started for Canaan. Ever and anon where dangers and difficulties beset them there were those who persuaded them to go back, but under the leadership of Moses they pressed onward. Moses did not enter the promised land, but saw it from afar. The Children of Israel did enter. We have not journeyed for forty years through the wilderness, but near about it. In 1868, we, too, were in the house of bondage, and Zeb. Vance came to us and spoke to us and told

us to gird our loins and get away from Republicanism and negro domination, and take this land for it was ours and the land of our fathers. For thirty-five years we journeyed in the wilderness, though federal bayonets opposed us, though one hundred and twenty thousand negroes in solid phalanx opposed us, though they put upon us a Civil Rights Bill and tried to intimidate us with Force Bills, though they threatened us with Federal Courts and federal power, and though every Republican fought against the deliverance of his country, yet under the leadership of Vance we pressed onward.

The great old Senator passed away, but in his spirit and under the leadership of Senator Simmons and Governor Aycock and their fellows, we pressed onward. We crossed the river, we passed into the land of Liberty and Enlightenment, and we brought Senator Pritchard over with us, though we had to tie him hand and foot. We always liked him. He didn't want to come. When he got into the new land he thanked God that he had gotten there, and as soon as he got up off his knees he said he wanted to be a ruler in Israel right at once.

The child has not yet been born in North Carolina that will see the day when the party that has degraded our people, that has attempted to perpetuate the political equality of the negro race, will be restored to power. The new day has dawned, but the judgment has been pronounced against this Republican Party.

Democracy, united, enthusiastic and steadfast in its purpose to guard the welfare of all the people, to protect North Carolina from the hand of the despoiler, to promote the upbuilding of this great State, marches forward with victorious assurances.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

(Greensboro, June, 1906)

NOTE: This speech, made at the opening of the State Democratic Convention at Greensboro, was two years before Locke Craig was a candidate for the nomination of Governor of North Carolina.

It is a high honor for me, Mr. Chairman, at your invitation, to preside temporarily over this Convention. The men that compose this assembly represent the intellectuality, the virtue and the patriotism of North Carolina. They stand for the policies that embody the highest conceptions of justice and that conduce to the attainments of the loftiest aspirations of our people. Never, in all our history, did a convention meet under more auspicious circumstance. Our people are at peace. The political status of the races has been determined to the satisfaction of all. The honest administration of just laws guarantees protection to every citizen and every interest. An efficient public school has been opened to every child in the State. The State Institutions of Learning are thronged with eager students and rank with the very best in the Union. The denominational colleges are flourishing as never before. Universal education is the necessary result of this great awakening. The unfortunates have been remembered in mercy; hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended to provide homes for the insane and schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb. The aged and afflicted veterans of the Confederacy have not been forgotten. Their deeds in victory and in defeat are a glory to the race and the priceless heritage of the South.

Temperance reform has steadily and surely progressed. The sale and manufacture of liquor in most of the towns and in the country districts have been abolished. The settlement of this vexatious question has been put upon a sound and practicable basis. But our people must remember that it is difficult, if not impossible, to enforce prohibitory laws in the larger towns and cities unless they be the expression of the will of the majority, and unless their enforcement be de-

manded by the substantial moral sentiment of the community. This reform, like all others, to be effective and permanent, must be the work of these municipalities.

Every Department of the State Government has been ably and honestly administered. No scandal has disgraced our annals since the Republicans were driven from power. Even the State Prison, which for years was an incubus and a burden, is above reproach, and is yielding a handsome profit.

In every section there are evidences of progress. Our county roads have been improved and the increasing demands of commerce have necessitated the construction of railroads. Diversified industries are springing up. Above the roar of the cataract and the bass voice of the steam engine there rises the song of multiplex wheel and spindle. The farms are cultivated and improved by scientific industry. Our towns are growing into cities. I believe that in intellectual and material advancement, in the brawn and sinew of moral manhood, North Carolina is the greatest of the Southern States.

In the retrospect of the last decade the good citizenship, without regard to politics, must rejoice that the party that cursed and blighted the State was overthrown; that the policies of the Democratic Party were enacted into statutes and written into the Constitution; that the era of shame and bitterness has been followed by the era of security and advancement.

To maintain their power our opponents stood for the perpetuation of negro suffrage. They championed the cause of whiskey. Bar-rooms and still-houses were their allies. Today they stand before us routed, disgraced, demoralized, with public plunder for aspiration and Marion Butler for leader. Verily, the man and the occasion have met.

Democracy, with an unsullied record, with an unalterable determination that its future shall be worthy of its past, with plighted faith to the highest upbuilding of the State, and with an exalted conception of her destiny, enters with victorious assurance the campaign of 1906.

The South is entering upon an era of unprecedented development and prosperity. The increase of population is multiplying the demand for the products of her mines, her forests

and her fields. No land but Dixie can profitably produce cotton, the most valuable of all the staples of agriculture. Our trade in the East is just beginning. As yet it has but skirted the seaboard of the Orient. The raiment most adaptable to the needs of the Mongolian race comes from the cotton fields of the South. When by ingenuity and energy of our people and by the cultivation of peaceful relations the products of our mills shall be carried to the unnumbered millions of those vast empires, we may realize that Minister Wu knew what he was talking about when he said that two inches added to the length of a Chinaman's shirt would double the price of cotton. With cotton at ten cents a pound, and all indications are that the natural demand will keep it above that figure, the South is the most favored land of all the earth, and will be the richest agricultural country of the world.

The settlement of one problem is but the evolution of another. Having grappled with the race problem; having adjusted the situation as near as we can to the eternal law that will eventually work out its solution; remembering our obligation to the weaker race, as the vast amount of money devoted to the education of the negro will testify; realizing that the responsibility for the just and humane settlement of this problem is ours; that we are accountable for the result to ourselves and to our posterity and not to others; the rejuvenated South is now doing and will do a foremost part in the solution of the social and economic questions of the age. These questions are necessitated by our great industrial development.

This is the age of material progress. Man's intellect and energies are now devoted to this, and for this he has summoned to his service the Genii in whose keeping are the treasures of the earth, and the limitless forces of immensity.

This is peculiarly the industrial age. As other epochs have been conspicuous for attainments in war or religion or politics, so ours is the era of industrial accomplishment. The spirit of victorious enterprise is everywhere. The men of power are not the captains of armies, or the oracles of senates, but the captains and organizers of industry. They are the potent factors of modern life and create conditions that

determine the status of people, individually and collectively. It is the age of industry and the age of co-operative industry. In the evolution of progress we have passed from the indefinite, unorganized and homogeneous state to the definite, organized state, in which each department of industry has been segregated and performs its separate functions in this great modern social organism. Co-operation is today the rule and law of commerce and production. There is not a single great enterprise operated in antagonism to or competition with another such enterprise. In defiance of the common and statutory law, both State and Federal, the competitive system has been destroyed, and the other built upon its ruins. Under the old order there developed an attractive civilization, an individuality, strong and comprehensive. In the Old South each plantation was a community within itself. It was equipped with all necessary appliances. The planter produced his own corn and meat. He had his carpenter shop; his blacksmith shop; his gin house; his spinning wheels and his looms. He was cultivated, intellectual and knightly. He was broad-minded and understood the policies of government and the duties of citizenship. He was the finest type of manhood. But in that state of society the gigantic forces of modern life would never develop and materialize. The saying that "Competition is the life of trade" does not now apply. Competition sharpened men. It made them shrewd and resourceful. But it is not the law of man's higher life, either in morals or commerce. Co-operation in its high and legitimate sense is the law of our highest life, and it is the law of progress.

The concentration and control of vast resources is essential to any of our great modern industrial institutions and every such institution has inevitably come to be a monopoly.

Some contend that monopoly is the result of a progressive business evolution, and is the necessary agency to the cheapening of production and to the realization of the possibilities of modern development. Others contend that it is a public enemy—the monstrous offspring of unrighteous law and unfair advantage. In both of these contentions there is an element of truth. But monopoly is here. It is a reality, and

the one great vital absorbing question of modern life is, "What shall we do with it?" It is the question which the Sphinx of Destiny asks of our time. The answer constitutes the fundamental difference between the Democratic and the Republican Party. Democracy means that these monopolies shall serve and not rule; Republicanism that they shall rule and not serve. I am speaking of the real meaning of the two political organizations, and not their professions of faith. To be more accurate, the Democratic Party is that agency through which the people may expect to control monopoly. The Republican Party is that agency by which monopoly expects to exploit the people.

Theodore Roosevelt is, perhaps, the most popular President that the country ever had, and all of his popularity is due to the fact that he has advocated policies to which his own party is deadly opposed, which were originated by the Democratic Party, and clearly announced in our national platforms. I would not detract from the President's laurels. As Democrats we honor him for the fact that by the irresistible force of public opinion he coerced the stubborn leaders of his party into the support of Democratic measures.

Since the passage of the Railroad Rate Bill, I assume that it is universally admitted that the Government should supervise and control the public service corporations. But why should such control be limited to these monopolies? The concern that has and exercises an undisputed monopoly in the production of a necessity of life, is as essentially in the service of the public, and a public necessity, as is a railway or telegraph company. I am speaking now of those great truths and combinations which have crushed or absorbed all opposition and competition, in whose power the individual is helpless, whose operations are interstate and international, and whose supremacy no rival can dispute.

Meat and sugar, and oil and coal, are as necessarily and universally used as freight cars and railroad tickets. The actual character and nature of the business and not its chartered privilege, determine the right and duty of Government to interfere and control.

Under the old system, competition was the regulator. Com-

petition having been destroyed, there must be another solution to the situation. You can with impunity trust neither men nor corporations with arbitrary power. It does not appease the appetite nor relieve the public nausea to be told that Packing Houses are not quasi-public corporations, nor does it sweeten the coffee or alleviate extortion to be told that the Sugar Trust has not the right of Eminent Domain.

The President of the Louisville & Nashville Railway Company defined the position of all monopolies when he said that the public could pay the charges demanded by the railroads or "it can walk," while the business creed of the people is expressed in the saying, "live and let live."

The evil of monopoly is not in its vast powers for production. Not in the fact that it can produce enough for all. Not in the fact that it has no competition. Certainly not in its power and capacity to cheapen production. The evil is in the fact that it exercises its power for rapacity and oppression.

You cannot destroy these great industrial enterprises—these monopolies. They are integral elements of our civilization itself. They have been built up in accordance with the law of association and co-operation. This is the source of their vigor, the generative force of their growth. I would not destroy them. I would not disturb the equilibrium of business. I would not impede the march of progress. I would not mar a single note in the grand symphony of the music of industry. But I would lay the all-controlling hand of the sovereign power of the people upon every monopoly with the command that it must conform to the law of simple justice to all.

The present tariff for the protection of trusts enables them to more easily "hold up" the American people. No ingenious sophistry can make a plausible defense for such "protection" by which the American Trust sells to the foreigner necessary commodities, after paying the freight across the seas, for one-half the price exacted from the American citizen. This iniquitous policy is, and forever will be, condemned by the Democratic Party. But I do not believe that the abolition of the tariff would destroy the trusts. If the tariff should be adjusted according to the Democratic idea, instead of a na-

tional, we would have international trusts, as was effected by the combination of the American Tobacco Company and the Imperial Tobacco Company.

The right to destroy includes the right to regulate. If the power to oppress and to rob be essential to the existence of any institution, that institution ought to be destroyed. Concede that it is the duty of Government to forbid agreements for the artificial and arbitrary fixing of prices, it follows that Government should prohibit the act, be it accomplished by a monopoly or by agreement. It is the act and not the agreement that works the mischief.

Government control has been necessitated by our industrial development. How shall it be effectuated? It should, of course, be done with consideration and in the spirit of conservatism. Not in the spirit of retaliation or retribution, but it must be done efficiently, it must be done in reality and not as a "sop to Cerberus." It must be done by the friends of the people, not by the friends of the trusts. If rightly done it will be by the Democratic Party, certainly not by the Republican Party.

The public utilities of this State exercise and enjoy exclusive privileges by grant from the people. A fair return to invested capital and just compensation for business ability is theirs by right, and will be conceded by all. But the Government would be false to its trust to permit them, by the exercise of these special and exclusive privileges, to charge the people unreasonable rates for the payment of enormous dividends and the booming of watered stock.

This governmental control should be entrusted to the immediate representatives of the people. Our State Corporation Commission and the National Commission should be clothed with powers sufficient to correct and prevent the abuses of monopoly. These powers rest upon the broad basis that the power of Government for correction is co-extensive with the power of monopoly for abuse.

The States can regulate commerce within their boundaries, but the great bulk of our commerce is interstate. Transportation facilities and modern progress have done more to consolidate the nation than sentiment, or sword or Constitutional

Amendment. The railroads have bound the country together with bands of iron. Every section is dependent upon every other section for the every-day needs of life. Greensboro is commercially closer to San Francisco today than it was to Raleigh when the Union was established. Then the States were independent of each other. Now they are dependent. Commerce between the States is of momentous interest to every citizen, and as to this, the States are powerless to protect themselves against the charges of transportation companies, no matter how unjust the demand or how grievous the wrong. This power to regulate interstate commerce must be exercised by the general Government.

There are those who pretend to be alarmed at the suggestion of popular interference. I resent the imputation that property is secure and that enterprise is protected only when the disciples of Wall Street are on guard. When, by all manner of fraudulent practices and undue advantage, millions and billions have been drained from the earnings of toil without a protest from a long-suffering people, you are estopped to say that they are unjust.

The enlightened judgment of the people has always been righteous. Its purpose is necessarily to produce the greatest good for the greatest number. The people are now awakening to the importance of this great question. They have determined to assert their sovereignty. You cannot avoid it if you would. They will not stop until their will has found expression in the law of the land. The avalanche has begun to move. It will crush whomsoever would trifle with it, and grind to powder him that would block its way.

That law that is based upon the universal conscience, that results from the collective will may not be a perfect law, but it is the nearest practicable approach to the ideal law of perfect liberty and perfect justice.

In these latter days some are prone to forget the source of sovereign power. In the debate on the Rate Bill it was contended by the leaders of the Republican Party that a court created by statute became, by virtue of its creation, invested with inherent power—such as the power to issue injunction—which could not be prescribed by its creator, the law-making

body. This led to the conclusion that the great interstate monopolies were beyond the supervision and control of legislative authority, and were amenable only to the decrees of the Federal Judiciary.

When United States Senators, the leaders of the Republican Party, boldly contend that there is any power beyond and above the people, it is high time that we should take our bearings from the landmarks of the fathers. If the Legislature be powerless to limit the power of a statutory court, the people in convention assembled are powerless to limit the power of a constitutional court. Such a conclusion has for its own postulate the "Divine Right of Judges." The opinion is growing that the Federal Courts were created and constituted as the guardians of corporate interests. Oliver Cromwell once walked unceremoniously with covered head and stick in hand into the Court, and shaking his fist at the Lord Chancellor, asked him where he got his meat and bread. I would not commend this act of the rugged old Protector, but some of the judges should be reminded that they were appointed as servants of the people to protect and enforce the rights of men, as well as the rights of property. That, in theory at least, they are not the servants of a corporation and not the fellow-servants of its employees. To the Supreme Court of the United States the people can always look with confidence and security. Since the formation of the Republic it has stood as the incorruptible oracle of the law and the bulwark against the encroachments of sectional hate and corporate power. The people of North Carolina too should remember the Circuit Judge who in emulation of the example of George W. Brooks issued his writ for the protection of the liberty of the press and the right of a North Carolina editor.

The Constitution has been invoked. It has always been invoked to perpetuate the special privilege of the powerful and has been distorted for the protection of vested wrong. But this defense was abandoned by the "technical lawyers" of the United States Senate who always look to the interests of corporations.

No commission can be infallible; neither are the courts

infallible. What is needed is a tribunal of justness and fairness before which wrongs can be righted without the intermidable delay and abuses of the right to litigate in the courts.

In the dawn of civilization the tribes of kindred races were implacable enemies and robbed and slaughtered each other in a state of chronic warfare. As they become more enlightened and civilized the law of justice is evolved. It takes the place of violence and rapine and regulates their relations to their mutual advantage. They are united into a nation and enter upon a higher and a larger destiny. If we apply to our society, to all hostile classes and conflicting interests the simple law of justice, modern civilization, throbbing with the pulsations of infinite forces, will enter upon its career of greatest achievements.

The events of the last few years have astonished the world. The little nation of the Orient has by a succession of brilliant victories demonstrated a heroism and a magic prowess in war. In Russia a benighted, sluggish people, agitated by the aspirations of liberty and enlightenment, are threatening the overthrow of despotism by revolution and anarchy. In England the Liberals have been restored to power by overwhelming majorities, and mechanics, the representatives of Labor Unions, sit as influential members in the British Parliament.

But the policies significant with the destiny of man will be determined not in Great Britain, not by the Japanese, not at St. Petersburg or by the bomb-throwers of Moscow, but necessarily by the most progressive nation of the earth, the American people—"the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time."

The logic of events is vindicating the wisdom of the policies of the Democratic Party. Time and time again has the policy of special privilege triumphed by the organized power of predatory wealth, but the American people are too honest, too strong, too intelligent, to be humbugged beyond the day of redemption.

The manipulators of finance in recent campaigns have been horrified. They made "broad their phylacteries." They em-

bezzled the trust funds of the people to corrupt the electorate for the preservation of the national honor. The Democratic holders of insurance policies all over the Union have been contributing money to buy votes for Republican candidates.

They say that ours is a time of greed and graft, but wherever the fight has been made with vigor and earnestness against corruption, whether in St. Louis or New York or Philadelphia or Washington, the people have driven the rascals out. The exiled Dynasty of High Ideals will be restored.

The forces are gathering for the next great national contest. Party alignments may be somewhat disturbed, but the Democratic hosts are united and determined. The grand old party, thrown to earth, rises with unconquerable vigor. Her principles were born with human freedom and human progress. They were enunciated in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. One hundred and thirty years ago they were proclaimed in the grandest declaration of the rights of man. She hails today as her leader a worthy successor of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. In the prime of magnificent powers he is the idol of the American people. More than any other man he stands for them. He is the embodiment of the highest ideals of American politics. He has the earnestness, the courage, the masterful energy of conviction. He has the mental poise and the unselfish patriotism of George Washington and the sublime faith in the wisdom and righteousness of the common people of Thomas Jefferson.

Another chapter of world history is beginning, and Bryan is the leader of the people of the great nation.

THE ENERGY OF DEMOCRACY

Outline of speech delivered by Locke Craig at the annual banquet of the New England Society, of Detroit, Michigan, on the evening of December 19, 1907.

Plymouth Rock is a cornerstone in history. The landing of the Mayflower was a dayspring in human destiny. An uneventful day in its actual occurrences, but its inner meaning, how vast, how significant, with the destiny of the world! In its horoscope there is Concord, Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Yorktown; the birth of the Republic; a people with indomitable energy and unfaltering faith, pushing their way through difficulties and dangers across the continent, transforming by their victorious industry the plain and the wilderness into wide golden seed fields and steepled cities; heavens lurid with tempests of war; battle banners unfurled; armies marching; clouds of cavalry galloping in the storm. All this is in the horoscope of that day, and beyond the unfolding, illimitable opportunities and responsibilities of the great nation of the great age.

The early settlers of America came from the loins of the mother country when the English intellect was in the zenith of its splendor and the English character in the prime of its power. It was the age of Bacon and Shakespeare, of John Milton and Cromwell; an age of stern realities, militant for convictions; an age when men had a faith that was worth dying for. We might call it the heroic age of the English race. Our ancestors were the robust offspring of that great epoch. They came to the New World with no greed for gold. They came to build a State where Justice was the law, where the individual mind and character might have scope for growth and development.

The Puritans, the Cavaliers and the Pilgrims were of the same race, the same lineage, the same blood, the same religion. In dress and the cut of the hair, in the verbiage of the ritual and in the ceremonial they did not agree. They quarreled about intonations and genuflections. But their differences were superficial. In bone and fibre they were homo-

geneous. These Puritans burned witches; they removed the Indians; they talked through their noses, but with all they preached by deed and word the gospel of Manhood and Justice.

And the sound of their axes and rifles reverberating there in the forests and bleak hills of New England, and their songs in the log meeting houses "already reach like a great elegy, like a stern prophecy," like a triumphant battle hymn, to the ends of the world.

If I could express your conception of New England it would be sublimer than Mount Washington, grander than Daniel Webster, and more beautiful than the serene loveliness of Priscilla. And if I could express the ideal of the South it would be more inspiring than the dome of the Appalachians, more exalted than her noblest man, more lovely than the resplendent beauty of her fairest daughter.

Every great people has a distinct meaning, and the spirit of such a people is greater than that of any individual. Such a people is the interpreter of a sublime thought, the embodiment of a moral force.

New England and the South have created the opposing currents of American life, and determined the opposite poles of American thought. The one glowing with earnestness, like the roaring furnace filled with coal—with anthracite coal—determined and uncompromising, standing for universal emancipation, setting at naught the ancient formulas; forged the thoughts that found expression in the tramp of embattled hosts, the rattle of musketry, and the thunders of field artillery. The other standing for the natural supremacy of the imperial race, the ideals of the fathers, the sovereignty of the States, the Republic of the Constitution, blazed forth in tempests of war, yielded up her bravest and noblest to die for the cause of "the storm-cradled nation that fell."

The Civil War is a part of the history of the heroic past. Its hatreds have been forgotten. Its glories will live forever. No sane man today cherishes any real sectional animosity. The denizens of the remote places are not so benighted, not so provincial as that.

The whole fabric of our society has changed. The com-

munity of interest today is not determined by geographical lines. Our ante-bellum civilization was one of individualism, one of sectionalism, but the civilization of today is one of vast co-operation and organization. The welfare of every section is dependent upon every other section. Our interests are interdependent and interwoven. In the evolution of progress we have passed from the homogeneous, unorganized state to the definite organized society in which each department of industry has been defined and segregated, and performs its separate function in the great modern social organism. Under the old order there developed an attractive civilization, an individuality strong and comprehensive. In the old South each plantation was a community within itself. It was equipped with all necessary appliances. The planter produced his own corn and meat. He had his own carpenter shop and blacksmith shop, his gin house, his spinning wheels and his looms. He was cultivated, intellectual and knightly. He was broadminded and understood the policies of Government and the duties of citizenship. He was of the finest type of manhood, but he was sectional. His environment made him sectional.

In those days there were no telegraphs and no railroads. Commercially each State was to a large extent separate and independent. This fact necessarily affected its political relations. Why should New England have a voice in the legislation that affected the South when New England and the South were distinct communities, with distinct and separate interests? Facilities of transportation and communication have changed all this. Greensboro is today closer to Chicago or New York than it was to Raleigh fifty years ago. Each section is now an individual part of every other section. Your cattle are now grazing on the plains of Texas. Your butcherman is in Chicago. Your looms, that used to be in New England, are now at White Oak and Proximity, and in Dixie you will hear the songs of the plantation and see the black women and the pickaninnies picking the cotton for all the people of the world.

The interests of all in the same department of industry

are identical, regardless of locality. Sympathy and co-operation born of this identity are not bounded by State lines. The manufacturers and the railroads are affected alike by any general law, whether they exist in Michigan or North Carolina. Their affiliations are not determined by sectional considerations. The same conditions and principles apply to all departments of our industrial life. Facilities for rapid transportation have developed this interdependence. The telegraph and daily newspaper cause every one with a common purpose to throb with the pulsations of the same thought. We glory in the courage of men who will in the last extremity fight for their rights, but interests based upon rights are no longer sectional. The contest cannot be sectional. The evolution of modern progress has consolidated the nation as neither sword nor sentiment nor constitutional amendment could do.

The railroads have bound the country together with bands of iron, the telegraph has united each interest by the electric current of the same thought.

For the old soldiers to shake hands across the imaginary bloody chasm is noble and pathetic. To be magnanimous in victory is grand, to be magnanimous in defeat is sublime. But there is no chasm. If there were it could not be closed by handshaking any more than it could in the '50s. Progress has obliterated the chasm. The great currents of commerce and the common sense of mankind make any sectional chasm impossible. Progress proclaims the unity of the race. Hostile promoters cannot withstand modern development. The sympathies and the allegiance of every American are necessarily co-extensive with the borders of the Union. The limitations and opportunities of American enterprise are determined by the orbit of the world.

But to an advancing people the solution of one problem is the presentation of another, more complicated, demanding greater wisdom and courage. Progress involves the responsibility of grappling with perplexing questions of vital significance. We have no conflicting sections, but we do have various classes, and gigantic organizations, whose operations

ramify into every section and affect the welfare of every section.

The situation demands for its consideration the wisdom and courage of the American people. In one form or another it has been the rock upon which preceding civilizations have been wrecked. As we pass down the tide of time the Sphinx of Destiny has asked us, too, a question. Our answer will determine whether we shall turn backward or go forward to a larger destiny.

Time and occasion would not permit a particular discussion of this question, but its answer may be found in the utterance of the Sage of Monticello, "Equal rights to all and special privilege to none." And in this the guarantee of equal rights is with the same emphasis as the denial of special privilege.

The same agencies that have welded together the sections have segregated the people into conflicting classes. These agencies have also enlightened and quickened the conscience of the people. The high court of last resort to which all citizens and all interests must appeal is the people. The judgment of all the people is wiser than that of any man or class. The voice of the people is the unified expression of all the governing forces of humanity. This is the Sovereign whose will is the law. It is not the perfect law, but it is the nearest approach to the ideal law of perfect justice. We know that the prosperity of every legitimate enterprise means the welfare of the whole country. This strife will cease when it can be realized that the Sovereign will guarantee to all justice—that each shall have his own and shall not take another's. Organized society must respond to new conditions to provide for the consideration of the rights of all and to guarantee with reasonable security, justice to all classes and orders.

If there be one thing which the American people love more than another, that which they will stand for, which they will contend for, which they will fight for, it is Justice. This is the strength of the Republic, and this is the energy of our Democracy. "It is grander than benevolence, something more august than charity." It is the law of all progress—the life of all civilization. It shed its light upon ancient Greece,

"marble grew to shapes of ideal beauty," and men ascended to the realms of Wisdom and Philosophy. Its spirit was breathed into a people toiling under the lash of Egyptian task-maskers, and they went forth a race of conquerors from the house of bondage. To their prophets and poets was revealed the unity of God in the highest exaltation of thought. It was this that glinted from the shields of our ancestors when they died before the legions of Caesar. It made the men of the Mayflower greater than conquerors. It planted here the seed of a mighty tree. If guided by this same Puritan courage, this same justice that our fathers loved, we adjust our institutions to the new conditions and the illimitable forces, who can see the possibilities of American attainment, and who can measure the opportunities of the American man?

In the achievements of this mighty people the South will do her part, politically, morally and industrially. The ancient doctrine of States Sovereignty for which she always contended has come again to be a cardinal tenet of our political faith, and is recognized as a vital force in our Government.

She is coming to the realization of her vast resources and magnificent possibilities. Her cotton crop of 1907, consisting of 11,700,000 bales, is worth in cash $700,000,000. The fact that this great staple must command for this country the money of the world was a powerful factor to relieve our financial distress. Agriculture is not her only industry as in former years. She is manufacturing her timber into furniture, and spinning and weaving her cotton. Above the bass voice of the steam engine, and the roar of the cataract, there rises the manifold song of multiplex wheel and spindle. The South is a part and a great part of this mighty industrial organization.

We are loyal to the Union. We love the flag. But Dixie consecrated by the blood of our fathers will forever be remembered in tears of pathos and immortal love. On that altar was laid the fairest and the bravest of the world. Their heroism in war and in peace is the priceless heritage of the race and the imperishable glory of the South. I have faith that the men of the New South are worthy sons of the men

of the Old South, that, inspired by the fire, the courage, the devotion of their fathers, they will strive for the accomplishment of the ever-increasing purpose of the ages.

In perfect fellowship and brotherhood, as one mighty people, we work together for the realization of the ideal that is higher than the ideal of the South, of New England or the West—the ideal of the unified Republic—the Hope of the World.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE TRAVELERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

(Asheville, 1908)

NOTE: Hon Locke Craig represented Hon. John A. Campbell, the Mayor of Asheville, and delivered the address of welcome on behalf of the City.

(Stenographic Report)

Mr. Craig spoke as follows: The Governor has so well and so completely covered the whole ground that there is nothing left for me to say. What I shall attempt to say I fear will fit the reply that an old deacon made to the young minister when asked how he liked the sermon. "Well, Father Brown, how did you like my sermon yesterday?" asked the young preacher. "You see, parson," was the reply, "I haven't a fair chance at them sermons of yourn. I am an old man now 'n' have to set purty well back by the stove, 'n' there is old Miss Smith 'n' widow Taft, 'n' Mrs. Rylan's daughters 'n' Nabby Birt 'n' all the rest setting in front of me, with their mouths wide open, a-swallowing down all the best of the sermon—'n' what gets down to me is purty poor stuff, parson—purty poor stuff." (Laughter.)

But I will say now, if there is anyone that thinks that he can do any better than I can, let him come forward and he is welcome to the job. (Laughter.)

I very highly appreciate, however, the honor that it is to welcome to our little city this great convention. These delegates have come from all sections of the Republic, from the cities of the northern lakes, and from the seaports sustained by the trade winds of tropical seas, from the valley of the Mississippi, from the Atlantic slope, and from the declivities of the Sierra Nevadas. It comprises within its jurisdiction the greatest commercial empire of all the earth and all the centuries, extending, as it does, in one unbroken domain from the emporiums of the Atlantic liners, that carry the trade of Europe, to the harbors that welcome the tramps of the Pacific carrying the wealth of Asia and the islands of the sea.

By authority of John A. Campbell, Mayor of Asheville, and the best and most popular mayor that Asheville ever had, I extend to you a most cordial welcome. This Queen City of the Appalachian Hills and all her people—her noble, generous men, her women, finer than the sculptured marble of Carrara, her merchants, her hotels, her boarding houses, her restaurants (laughter) her livery stables (laughter) her soft drink places and other drink places (laughter) her cigar stands (laughter) her soda fountains (laughter) her bootblacks, and every electric light, and every flaunting banner and waving flag, with universal acclaim shout "Howdy do and all-hail to the T.P.A." (Applause.)

We hope that your pilgrimage here may be one of delight "waited on by the choral muses and the rosy hours." We are poor compared with our desire for your pleasure, but abundant in the wealth of the hospitality of the heart. You have met in greater cities of vaster wealth and more magnificent structures. You have met in cities where there were more places of spirituous conviviality (laughter) but you have never met in a place that had purer air and finer water or any more of it. (Laughter.) And this city is rich in the traditions of the heroic past, and richer in the hope and inspiration of a greater future. We cannot point you to the snow-clad altitudes of the Rockies, but from the Battery Park Hotel you can look upon a vast undulating table land as beautiful as Switzerland, and upon mountain peaks where the gods of Olympus would have sat in council had they only known about them. (Laughter and Applause.) We have here the music of crystal waters and fragrance of wild flowers. But the finest music is that which the mountain boy feels when he looks into the depths of the eyes of a mountain girl, and doubts whether he sees there the reflections of the heavenly stars or gleams from the regions of nether fire. (Laughter and Applause.)

While considering this phase of the question I was reminded of the wonderful evolution in the form and fashions of society. In the year 1670, in the reign of Charles II, the following law was solemnly enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain: "That all women of whatever age, rank, pro-

fession or degree, whether virgins, maids or widows, that shall from and after the passage of this Act impose upon and betray into matrimony any of His Majesty's male subjects by scents, paints (laughter) cosmetics, washes, artificial teeth (laughter) false hair (great laughter and cries of "rats") spanish wool, iron stays, hoops, high-heeled shoes or bolstered hips (great laughter) shall incur the penalties of the laws now in force against witchcraft, sorcery and such like misdemeanors, and that the marriage, upon conviction, shall stand null and void." (Laughter and Applause.) When I look upon this vast audience and the women of the Twentieth Century I see how far we have advanced beyond the necessity for any such statute. No living man has ever seen any such resorts of witchcraft, and a conviction under the statute would now be impossible. For if any man would give testimony that he had ever seen the like it would be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for him. (Laughter and Applause.)

We live in the age of material development—a commercial age. There was an age of war, an age of chivalry, an age of religious fervor. This is the age of commerce. You, as a gentleman remarked while Governor Kitchin was speaking, are her evangels. The men who are today controlling the destinies of the world are not the captains of armies nor the oracles of senates, but the captains of industry and commerce. We entertain today the men who are directing and driving the commerce of the world. We do not build today cathedrals but railroad stations, faster than the Temple of Ephesus and innumerable.

Factory chimneys more costly than sacred high spires, and from them ever stream columns of smoke from the altars of industry. They tell us that Orpheus by the music of his lyre built the walls and the temples of Thebes. Have you ever heard in the morning the awakening of a Lowell or a Pittsburgh or a Birmingham?—sounding like the boom of the Atlantic breaking upon the everlasting rocks. Ten thousand whistles blowing, ten thousand engines throbbing, generating a power greater than that of all the beasts of the earth com-

bined, ten thousand steam hammers ringing, shaping the mammoth guns of battleships and mighty shafts. We too are building by the vast music of this great modern industry. And this modern commerce has done more to cement the Union than sword or sentiment or Constitutional Amendment. (Loud Applause and Cheers.) The telegraph and the railroad have united us. The electric pulsations of the same life throb today in every State of the Union. The country is bound together by bands of iron. The men of commerce have made each section of the country dependent upon every other section. This is an indissoluble union of indestructible States from the fact that each State is essential to the welfare of every other State. (Applause.) My smoke-house is in Chicago. New England must wear the cotton that is grown in the South. My cattle graze upon the plains of Texas. We love the memories of the heroic past, but there is not a man in Dixie who would not die for the honor and glory of the flag. (Applause.)

We must remember, however, that commerce and commercial supremacy are not the ultimate end of a nation's destiny.

> "For heathen heart that puts her trust
> In reeking tube and iron shard."

You may talk of armies and navies and protection to American industry, but give American manhood and American energy a fair chance and they will conquer the world. (Applause.) The Standard Oil Company—and I am not discussing the political or social status of this great concern—this is not the forum for that—the Standard Oil Company invested $500,000, I believe, in lamps and lamp chimneys. They were not dealing in lamps. They bought these lamps, filled them with oil, sent them to China to create a demand for oil among the hundreds of millions of the Mongolian race. Today the tank ships of this company are riding upon the waves of both the oceans, and the Russian serf is reading American theories of government by the light of the oil that is taken from the center of the American Continent. This is the energy and

the enterprise that cannot be resisted. The American drummer has gone to the weary Pilgrim sitting among the ruins of Babylon and sold him a "Uneeda Biscuit." (Laughter.) He has gone to the sage who sat under the palm trees of Tadmor contemplating the problems of eternity and immensity, and convinced him that the one thing needful was a sack of Bull Durham Tobacco. (Laughter and Applause.) He has gone to the Hyperborean, standing upon the cliffs of the uppermost North, listening to the peaceful gurgle of the slow-heaving Polar Ocean, and sold him a sealskin grown in the cotton fields of the South and woven in the looms of New England. (Laughter and Applause.) This is the drummer boy that never has and never will beat a retreat. (Applause.)

The incarnation of American grit and determination and energy and intelligence and enterprise is the American drummer. He is energized by the spirit that was manifest in the young volunteer that went from North Carolina in '62. His father was in the Army of Northern Virginia. And when the boy heard of battles and sieges he was determined to go. His mother begged him to stay at home. He was her only stay and comfort, but he must go. Clad in his bright new uniform, the young volunteer went to the front. He wanted to get into a battle, and it was not long before he was satisfied. They were fighting the Battle of Fredericksburg. There was a battery on a hill that was playing havoc with the Confederate forces. The General ordered a charge upon this battery, and up the hill the Division went. There was

> "Cannon to right of them,
> Cannon to left of them,
> And cannon in front of them."

Their ranks were swept by grape and canister. They fell like ripe wheat before the sickle. They marched on over the dead bodies of their comrades who had fallen in front, "but their's not to reason why," for the iron lips of Stonewall Jackson himself had said "forward." But the General saw, or thought he saw, that the battery could not be taken. He commanded the trumpeter to sound the retreat. And above

the storm of battle the shrill note sounded. The veterans knew what it meant. They fell back and fell back at once, but this young volunteer in the front rank did not know what it meant. He thought it meant to go faster, and up the hill alone he went. Both armies stopped and looked at him. He rushed to the breastworks, rammed his new cap in the mouth of a cannon, leaped over, grabbed a Yankee by the nap of the neck, and came tumbling down the hill with him. (Applause.) His bewildered comrades exclaimed, "Where did you get that man?" "Why," said he, "I got him up on top of the hill there, and there are plenty more of them up there. Why haven't you got one?" (Laughter and Applause.)

This is the unconquerable spirit of American manhood that today makes that flag the greatest flag of all the nations and this people the greatest people of the earth. (Loud Applause.)

I deliver to you the key of our city, but it is unnecessary, for our doors are all open and the latch-string hangs upon the outside. (Presenting Key to the President of the T.P.A.) (Prolonged Applause.)

CARLYLE

Delivered Before The Pen & Plate Club At Asheville In 1910.

English Literature has had two periods of magnificent flower. The one in the reign of Elizabeth, and the other in the reign of Victoria. One grew from Feudalism and Roman Catholicism, the other from Democracy and Protestantism. Shakespeare was the splendor of the former; the grandeur of the latter was Thomas Carlyle.

In the Valley of Parnassus there was a fissure in the earth from which issued sulphurous vapors. A goat-herd was tempted to lean over this hole to solve, if he could, the mysteries of this place. Immediately a shivering ran through his body; his hair stood on end; his eyes blazed with light. He spoke strange things. Some said that he spoke the jargon of delirium; others believed that his words were those of an oracle, and here was built the Temple of the Delphic Apollo, to which the ancients came to seek wisdom. Somewhat analogous was Thomas Carlyle, and the judgment pronounced upon him by modern criticism. He was the son of a Scotch Peasant. With the eye of wonder he looked upon the Universe: the Hebrew Bible, the thoughts of the masters of English and German Literature were his inspiration. When he published his first books, many wagged their heads and pronounced his utterances incoherent, extravagant, the product of a disordered mind, but already the wise men and seekers for truth from all the nations have come as pilgrims to this oracle.

The Scotch in many respects bear a strong resemblance to the ancient Hebrews. Strength, earnestness, reverence, an immovable faith that makes martyrs; that exalted conception of God whose decrees are righteous and terrible, are characteristic of both these peoples. This resemblance was especially manifest during the era of religious strife inaugurated by the Diet of Worms and stimulated by the School of Geneva.

The stern and relentless decrees of the Hebrew Bible ap-

pealed to the innermost natures of men like John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation, and it was inevitable that they should establish an ecclesiastical state modeled after the Theocracy of Moses and the Prophets. Carlyle was a Scotchman; he possessed the typical characteristics of his race; he was cast in the heroic mould of the Covenanter; he inherited their religion and their creed; the latter he discarded; the spirit of their religion was the basis and the inspiration of his life. An heir of the Covenant, nurtured in the sublime and awful teachings of the Prophets; imbued with the transcendentalism of the Literature of Germany; unfettered of all dogmas and formulas—a Titan of the Nineteenth Century—such was Thomas Carlyle.

From his appearance you could tell his country and his lineage. His body was not robust; his face was rugged. The description of Teufelsdrockh would fit him: "Under those thick locks of his—long and lank—overlapping roofwise the gravest face you ever saw, there dwelt a volcanic brain. In his eyes, too, under their deep shaggy brows looking out so still and dreamy, you would see the gleam of an etherial or else a diabolic fire and could fancy that their stillness was but the rest of infinite motion—the sleep of a spinning top."

He graduated at the University of Edinborough; his school days and college life were uneventful. He was the beloved son of his mother. Though unable to read until she was grown, by a mother's intuition she knew that she too had borne a mighty man. She set her heart in seeing him in the Scotch pulpit, a minister of the Presbyterian Church; to her all eminence and distinctions were low and to be despised compared with this. But this son of hers could not be a sectarian. He would not accept the dogmas of the Presbyterian Church nor of any other church. Though not a minister ordained by the church he knew that he had a message to deliver, and finally decided to make literature his profession.

He left Edinborough and went to Craigenputtock to begin in earnest his life and his literary work. He was thirty-two years old. Froude says of Craigenputtock that it "is the dreariest spot in all the British Dominion." But it was not

an uninteresting place. There were wide billowy straths of grass around it; the silence was broken by the lowing of herds and the bleating of sheep; the rolling hills were covered with firs and heather; here could be seen the hill where Agricola built a camp; where Galgarcus at the head of the Northern Barbarians—the race that never crouched in bondage—made his last death defiant stand against the crushing destiny of the Roman power. It was here, according to Tacitus, that this savage hurled at the Romans the words equal to those of Napoleon at the Pyramids, and which live in the oratory of our day: "They make the land a desolation and call it peace."

Craigenputtock was indeed a remote place—a solitude—no human habitation within a mile and no doctor within fifteen miles. In all our mountain country there is not a home as remote as was this place where Carlyle spent the great years of his young manhood.

Having refused to accept the faith of his fathers, intensely religious, consumed with a desire to know and to speak the truth, it was well that he, like the Prophets and John the Baptist, should go to the solitude for his life wrestle and to bring order out of the chaos of his own thoughts. The stars, young and clear, sang to him as they did to the shepherds twenty centuries ago upon the plains of Shinar. This is how he looked at the sunrise in his summer walks over the hills: "Right ahead the great Northeast sends up evermore his gray-brindled dawn. From the dewey branch birds here and there with short deep warble salute the coming sun. Stars fade out and galaxes—street lamps of the City of God. The Universe flings wide his portals for the levee of the Great High King."

His first book, Sartor Resartus, or the philosophy of clothes, was written while he lived at Craigenputtock. This book is his message to the world. The many books that he afterwards wrote are the logical emenation from this his first and greatest work.

One might think that he named this book in a spirit of drollery. But this is how he defines his theme: "In this one pregnant subject of clothes, rightly understood, is included

all that men have thought, dreamed, done and been. The whole external universe and what it holds is but clothing; and the essence of all science lies in the Philosophy of Clothes." He uses the term to signify the emblem, the visible manifestation of the invisible force. Whatsoever represents the spiritual he designates as clothes—a suit of raiment put on for a season and to be laid off.

Dogmas, creeds, institutions, he calls clothes. Man himself is clothed with a body. With Carlyle God is the Eternal from everlasting to everlasting; the visible universe is His garment "For was it not written, The Heavens and the Earth shall fade away like a Vesture, which indeed they are, the Time Vesture of the Eternal."

This book is the struggle of a soul with temptations and doubt, a warfare against the powers of evil, and a seeking for the truth. It is an allegory and it has a power and a grandeur not found in that beautiful and simple classic, Pilgrims' Progress.

He tells us of an idyllic childhood that we have all experienced when he says "time is no fast hurrying stream, but a sportful sun-lit ocean, and we sleep danced around by sweetest dreams," and we now have what is ever after denied us "the balm of rest." Yet among the rainbow colors that glowed on the horizon was the dark ring of care that ever grew broader and broader. He learned then the meaning of Death, and we have the following fine passage:

"The dark bottomless Abyss, that lies under our feet, had yawned open; the pale Kingdoms of Death, with all their innumerable silent nations and generations stood before me; the inexorable word, Never! now first showed its meaning. My mother wept, and her sorrow got vent; but in my heart there lay a whole lake of tears, pent up in silent desolation. Nevertheless, the unworn Spirit is strong; Life is so healthful that it even finds nourishment in Death; these stern experiences, planted down by memory in my imagination, rose there to a whole cypress-forest, sad but beautiful; waving, with not unmelodious sighs, in dark luxuriance, in the hottest sunshine, through long years of youth; as in manhood also it does, and

will do; for I have now pitched my tent under a cypress tree; the Tomb is now my inexpugnable fortress, ever close by the gate of which I look upon the hostile armaments, and pains and penalties, of tyrannous Life placidly enough, and listen to its loudest threatenings with a still smile. Oh, ye loved ones, that already sleep in the noiseless Bed of Rest, whom in life I could only weep for and never help; and ye, who wide-scattered still toil lonely in the monster-bearing Desert, dyeing the flinty earth with your blood—yet a little while, and we shall all meet there, and our Mother's bosom shall screen us all; and oppressions harness, and Sorrow's fire-whip, and all the Gehenna Bailiffs that patrol and inhabit ever-vexed time, cannot thenceforth harm us any more."

Teufelsdrockh, the philosopher whose sayings and reflections make the book, is thought by many to be modeled after Jean Paul Frederick Richter. He is close akin to Faust, too. He was imbued with the Book of Job. He is not unlike Tennyson in Locksley Hall, Maud, Sir Gallahad and the Idyls of the King.

Life to him had been but disappointment and bitterness. His cup of sorrow had run over "and hissed over in a deluge of foam." But in the wild solitude of gorge and mountain peak he feels the throb of nature's heart. There in the twilight he looked, as he expresses it, upon "a hundred and a hundred savage peaks in the last light of day; all glowing of gold and amethyst, like giant spirits of the wilderness." "And as the ruddy glow was fading into clearness in the sky, and the Sun had now departed, a murmur of Eternity and Immensity, of Death and of Life, stole through his soul; and he felt as if Death and Life were one, as if the Earth were not dead, as if the Spirit of the Earth had its throne in that splendor, and his own spirit were therewith holding communion."

But as yet this philosopher had no lode star of faith; no pillar of cloud by day nor pillar of fire by night to guide him in the wilderness of doubt and temptation. There was no life-warmth to heal the stab of false Friendship and of false Love. "Well might he exclaim in his wild way 'Is there no

God then, but at best an absentee God, sitting idle ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of his Universe, and seeing it go?' "

According to Carlyle, in this book, the Religion and politics of his day had all been figured up in a ledger of profit and loss. The pharasaical happiness of an approving conscience and residence in the Celestial City were now the rewards of duty. The Devil said to him, too, "Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine." To which he replied, "I am not thine, but free, and forever hate thee."

And then he was possessed of strength and all shams and pretenses, and hypocricies, and cant, and lies and commands to conform thereto, he despised and condemned and defied. He wandered over the earth to learn wisdom and to solve the mysteries of life. He moistened his bread in the clear lakelet of the Pine Chasms of Vaucluse. He sat under the palm trees of Tadmor; he smoked his pipe among the ruins of Babylon; he saw Napoleon's Armies and heard "the tramp of embattled hosts and the sounds of falling cities"; he stood upon the cliffs of the uttermost North, and listening to "the peaceable gurgle of that slow-heaving Polar Ocean," saw the sun at midnight in his "cloud couch wrought of crimson and cloth of gold." He heard kings speak to Parliaments, and, disguised as a tavern waiter, stood behind the chairs of the wise men and heard things that he did not forget. "Fool," exclaims he, "why journeyest thou to gaze on the stone pyramids of Geezer or the clay ones of Saccahara? * * * " I will open my Hebrew Bible.

In looking at the Universe he realized the littleness of man. But he heard the God-given mandate, "Work thou in well doing." This command comes to every one. It is mysteriously written in prophetic characters in every heart. If heard you must be carried of the spirit into grim solitudes, there to do grimmest battle with the Tempter. But, as he says, "Our wilderness is the wide world in an atheistic century." "Yes," says he, "to me also * * * it was given after weariest wandering to work out my way into the higher sunlit slopes of that mountain which has no summit or whose summit is in Heaven only."

This he maintains comes from the sacrifice and the annihilation of self. It is the renunciation taught by Goethe, and a greater than Goethe said, "he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." The conclusion is that there is in man something higher than happiness. It is Blessedness and to preach this Higher, "sages and martyrs, the poet and the priests in all time have spoken and suffered, bearing testimony through life and through death, of the God-like that is in man.

To Carlyle the creed was the temporal manifestation, the imperfect expression of the Eternal, the Spiritual. The old church clothes, the old symbols of faith to him had worn out; the life had gone out of them. The authentic church catechism of the present century had not appeared. These symbols of religion and faith are ever changing and evolving into higher and finer forms. The forms and ceremonies are not divine, and all the dogmatic declarations of ecumenical councils can not make them so. He rejected the dogmas of the past like Him who preached the simple and universal and eternal gospel of the Samaritan woman at the well and told her that His worship was confined to no temple and defined by no creed.

As the old vesture wears out and fades the new is weaving with finer fibre. Says he, "In that whirlwind, creation and destruction proceed together. Ever as the ashes of the old are mysteriously blown about do organic filaments of the new mysteriously spin themselves. Tones of the melodious death song are but tones of a more melodious birth song." "The Phoenix soars aloft, hovers with outstretched wings, filling earth with her music; or, as now, she sinks and with spheral swan-song immolates herself in flame, that she may soar the higher and sing the clearer."

If I have given a glimpse of this book, it is all that I could hope for. It did not meet with favor. It was something new. The English intellect did not readily grasp its meaning. At first it was unnoticed. Then it provoked opposition and ridicule. America furnished its first disciple, Emerson. Years afterwards when the thinkers of the world were bowing to

the genius of Carlyle, he esteemed Ralph Waldo the finest and purest of them all.

Sartor Resartus brought its author but little money. Though distressingly poor he went to London and began his history of the French Revolution. The wild tornado in which the French Monarchy had perished was to him an illustration of the Universal Law. He looked at this mighty phenomenon in the light of the Old Testament as he had heard it read and interpreted from the Presbyterian pulpit. He had ceased to believe in miracles according to their accepted significance, and had cast off the form of his creed, but the lesson of his youth was never forgot. It was the germ of his philosophy. He believed that all nations lived under one dispensation; that God dealt with all peoples as He did with the Children of Israel; that His Law is ever divinely beautiful and divinely terrible; delivered from Sinai or from any other mountain or place it must be obeyed. The people that puts the greed of gain or the pleasure of iniquity above the Law of Righteousness will be punished. Of modern nations, France was the greatest sinner. The rich lived in idleness and luxury, while the poor toiled and suffered. French society was based on the lie of the inheritance of rights and privileges without the corresponding sacrifice and fulfillment of duty. The Eternal Law was forgotten. The Papal nuncio esteemed it an honor to get upon his knees and tie the slipper on the foot of a harlot, and Majesty itself waited obsequeously on her glance. France was guilty. Judgment was pronounced "in a horror of great darkness and shakings of the world and a cup of trembling which all nations must drink." In the punishment of iniquity the Revolution was inexorably just. But its theory of Equality was false. The Contract Social a humbug. The guilty had been punished but the new order of things must necessarily result in anarchy. Napoleon or another despot, was inevitable. Carlyle was not a democrat; he did not believe that the people could govern themselves, but that they must be governed. To enthrone the ablest man was with him the ideal of all social procedure, but he did not believe that a man could be made a king by putting a crown on his head. He believed in the aristocracy of worth, but as between the

dissolute aristocracy of France and the sans-culotte he was a sans-culotte. Consider this passage: When Camille Demouslins is about to be executed and Foquier asked the formal questions, What is your name, age, and the like?" Camille makes answer: " * * * My age is that of the bon sans-culotte Jesus; an age fatal to Revolutionists. O Camille, Camille! And yet in that Divine Transaction, let us say, there did lie, among other things, the fatalest reproof ever uttered here below to Worldly Right—honorableness."

I would not call his a history of the French Revolution. It is a reproduction of the principal scenes of the Revolution, a mighty moving picture, with the voice of life. We see the horrors of the death bed of Louis XV; we hear the rush of courtiers across the Œil-de-Bœf to hail the dauphin and dauphiness King and Queen. It is the doomed young Louis XVI and the Imperial Marie Antoinette. They fall on their knees and exclaim, "Oh, God, guide us; protect us. We are too young to reign." Amid wild shouting multitudes we look upon the procession of the State's General from the Church of St. Louis to Notre Dame. We recognize the faces of men and women who will live long in history. We hear the voice of Mirabeau, the world compeller, rise into "far-sounding melodies of strength" as he mounts the Tribune and shakes his lion mane. We see France girt with fire and sword. The armies of the Imperial allies are marching upon Paris. Danton descends from the Mountain like a lava flood. He rears his huge stature, with clenched fist, his voice reverberating from the domes, with a defiance that startles the world and terrifies kings, he exclaims: "The coalesced kings threaten us. We hurl at their feet as gage of battle the head of a king."

All France is electrified. We see the banner, "Patre est en denger," flying from all the steeples. A mother leads proudly her first born son by the hand and goes away weeping when told that he is too young to be enrolled as a soldier of the Republic. Traitors within and foes without. France blazes up, fired by this wild energy of Danton. In the travail of Revolution unconquerable armies leap from her womb. Thus we see the Revolution in all the details of reality—in

fire and storm and horror. Orgies and massacres and guillotines, insurrection and the crashing of ancient institutions pass in our view. In 1836 he wrote to Mrs. Carlyle: "It all stands pretty fair in my head, nor do I mean to investigate much more about it, but to splash down what I know in large masses of color, that it may look like a smoke-and-flame conflagration in the distance, which it is."

When this book was published its triumph was complete. Dickens carried it in his pocket as if it were his Bible. Tennyson sought the company of its author. Arnold, of Rugby, commended it. Thackeray reviewed it in the highest terms, and Macaulay bore testimony to its genius. The pulpit still criticised, from the hedges of obscurity, some reviewers threw stones, but the primacy of Carlyle was established by the decree of the "Conscript Fathers."

All the books that Carlyle wrote are fine; you might say the finest. His great books are Sartor Resartus, French Revolution, Past and Present, Oliver Cromwell, Frederick the Great; and you might name among these Heroes and Hero Worship. Each one, not only sustained, but added to his reputation. He spoke and wrote the truth as he saw it. He despised the prejudices of his age and spoke with authority to rulers and law-givers. For long years he struggled—crushing years. But in his own lifetime he triumphed. His books were translated into all the languages of the civilized nations. He was acknowledged to be the first writer of the age.

Carlyle's style was new. Many thought that it was affected. He was not a phrase-maker. He had no art for giving graceful expression to current opinions. His thoughts burned within him, and without regard to form or the rules of rhetoric he attempted to speak to others. His words are full of meaning; his sentences rugged, glowing with reality. They come sometimes like stars from the white iron wrought upon the anvil, and he is a Titan and wields the hammer of Thor.

Carlyle and Herbert Spencer are the potential forces of this epoch. The one was a seer; the other a logician. Carlyle's "method is not in any case that of common school Logic,

where the truths all stand in a row, each holding by the skirts of the other; but at best that of practical Reason, proceeding by large intuition over whole systematic groups and kingdoms."

Spencer, all comprehensive, taught by synthesis the everlasting evolution of all things. Carlyle by the generalization of genius taught the evolution of man's institutions, political and ecclesiastical, civil and ritualistic. The vast diffusion of Force—the law and will of the Universe—was named by Spencer the Unknown; by Carlyle, God. He contended for no dogmas; he taught no creed. He called men back to the eternal verities. Confessions of faith and civil institutions are essential, but they wear out. The Vedas, the Korans, the Zend Avestas had once taught men the way of life. The old myths were once true, the old allegories had a meaning, but in the evolution of life the old forms must pass, for old bottles will burst with new wine. Buddah, Odin, Mahomet, were to him not imposters; they were great and earnest teachers; the supreme manifestation of the Divine was in Him, of Nasareth, the music of whose life has appealed for nineteen hundred years to the hearts of men. He was a Puritan without a creed. He was not a Levite, but a priest after the order of Melchizedek. He was a seer who beheld the apocalypse of Nature. He knew that Might is the Right that must prevail, that a lie can not live, that Truth and Justice are as powerful as the Almighty. He sang the epic of man's battlings and his triumphs. Sometimes he rings the Angelus Bells; and then in the twilight, over peaceful meadow and golden field, we hear the tones of everlasting love and forgiveness; sometimes he sounds the blast of the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, and in the tempest, amid the tumult of the thunders, from blackness the wrath of God is poured out in fire.

In 1854 a number of the students of Glasgow had urged Carlyle as Rector of that University, but he was scornfully rejected on account of his religious views. In 1855 a like attempt was made by the students of the University of Edinburgh, with like result.

After the publication of Frederick the Great, in 1865, he was triumphantly elected Rector of the University of Edin-

burgh, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli. He had changed none of his opinions, had modified none of his views, but now the leaders of sects were proclaiming him as the champion of their faith. Carlyle accepted this honor from his alma mater, and in 1868 delivered the inaugural address. He was the same Carlyle whom they had denounced as an infidel. He preached the same doctrine, but now with universal acclaim he was recognized as the intellectual and moral force of the century and as the prophet of the living faith. His thoughts and his teaching are now proclaimed by the greatest preachers from orthodox pulpits.

The masters in painting and sculpture vied with one another to preserve for future generations his form and the features of that rugged sorrowful face, and the great of the world "with burnt offerings" acknowledged him a teacher who spoke with authority. But he was yet the plain and simple son of the Peasant of Ecclefechan.

Disraeli offered him a baronetcy or to confer upon him the highest distinction for merit within the gift of the Crown —the Grand Cross of the Bath. The great Prime Minister at the same time insisted that he should accept a royal pension. With courtesy and with delicate appreciation Carlyle declined both. A royal bounty and titles of nobility were out of keeping with the meaning of his life, for he had preached a gospel to the poor and denied with all his vehemence the claims of princes and dukes and lords. To his brother he wrote: "You would have been surprised, all of you, to have found unexpectedly your poor old brother converted into 'Sir Tom'; but, alas! there was no danger at any moment of such a catastrophe." He said to his friend: "The Grand Cross would be like a cap and bells to me."

He was steadfast to the reality and simplicity of that plain Scotch home. He never forgot the Sundays in the old days "with mother, father and the rest getting dressed for the meeting house."

When his genius had commanded the admiration of wise men and princes, when nations were his pupils and his praisers, he wrote in his private Journal: "O pious Mother! kind, good, brave and truthful soul as I have ever found, and

more than I have elsewhere found in this world. Your poor Tom, long out of his schooldays now, has fallen very lonely, very lame and broken in this pilgrimage of his; and you cannot help him or cheer him * * * any more. From your grave in Ecclefechan yonder you bid him trust in God; and that also he will try if he can understand and do."

He has been criticized for many minor faults, but in the weightier matters of the law he was without a blemish. His life was frugal and pure. When in old age his books had earned him an abundance of money he enjoyed no luxury but charity.

Dean Stanley requested that he be buried at Westminster Abbey. Carlyle had anticipated this and by his direction his body was carried to the rural churchyard at Ecclefechan, there to lie with his humble kin, who slept "under their white memorial stones in hope of a happy resurrection." With no pomp nor ceremonial the greatest born of Scotland was laid to rest in her bosom.

His heart was of melting pity, and fiery wrath and all embracing love. And his voice, too, fashioned there in that home of faith and earnestness already reaches "like a great elegy, like a stern prophecy," like a triumphant battle-hymn to the ends of the world.

ACCEPTING DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR

(Raleigh, N. C., June 6th, 1912)

NOTE: The Convention of 1908 was held in Charlotte. Locke Craig and W. W. Kitchin were candidates for Governor. Special trains were run from all over Western North Carolina, bearing enthusiastic Craig supporters. The east, however, held that Governor Glenn, of Winston-Salem, was a representative of the west, and they were entitled to the nominee. By a close vote, W. W. Kitchin, of Scotland Neck, received the nomination. This caused the keenest disappointment among the western delegates, especially the Tenth District, from which there had been no Governor since Vance. When the convention subsided, after the result of the vote was declared, there were calls everywhere for Locke Craig, the "Little Giant of the Mountains." It is to be regretted that no report can be found of his speech, but those who heard him said it was the finest of his career. He showed no pique in the hour of his defeat, but with an unselfish and patriotic spirit, swept all bitterness among his adherents aside, and with a voice ringing clear for party unity, he called upon the west to give to the Democratic nominee the full strength of their support. And from that time on until the final victory in November, when William Walton Kitchin was elected Governor of North Carolina, Locke Craig advocated his candidacy in speeches all over the State.

Four years later, in June, 1912, Locke Craig was nominated Governor by acclamation in one of the most enthusiastic and harmonious Conventions the Democratic Party ever held in North Carolina.

The following extracts, clipped from The News and Observer, of Raleigh, June 6, 1912, give an idea of the enthusiasm which prevailed:

When the State Democratic Convention caught a breath at midnight and looked back upon its first twelve hours of work, it had seen Locke Craig chosen as its nominee for Governor in one of the most remarkable testimonials of affection, and his running mate, E. L. Daughtridge, as Lieutenant-Governor, after five of the warmest ballots of many convention years.

It had seen more. It had watched every reference to Charles Brantley Aycock made in the most reverential way and hundreds give their pledge that if he had lived, he would have claimed their homage in life as he has done in death.

MRS. LOCKE CRAIG

But one other time has there been a nomination tendered a great public servant upon terms of such affection as this prize went to the gallant man of the west. And then it went to the eloquent man of the east, Charles B. Aycock, the beloved dead, whose memory was tenderly and sweetly brought to the convention in a score of speeches and records yesterday. That was twelve years ago in Raleigh, and yesterday was the return of the party to the unity which marked its choice of Aycock on the eve of the new century in 1900.

* * * * * * * *

That was a mighty assemblage that clamored for room yesterday at noon. It was made up of the sum and crown of North Carolina citizenship. Ladies of Raleigh and elsewhere occupied the right wing of the upper gallery and the delegates who came to make their choice were from among the flower of North Carolina manhood. The politicians did not have the convention. Business men in every line of commercial energy were there. They occupied the floor as delegates and cast the votes that made law. They were there in great numbers. They came from all sections and in large numbers. They stopped big business to get here, but they came to select, not partisan leaders, but to write patriotic measures into party principles.

The excessive good nature of the body did not mean that it came there to enjoy the stupid peace that smacks of chloroform. There were fierce divisions. The sharpest definitions between men and measures were drawn. But there was no viciousness of attack. Four years ago Charles W. Tillett, describing the great Charlotte Convention, likened it unto a storm at sea, the waves rolling high, but the deep waters below indicative of the real patriotism that lies unseen in every breast.

It didn't look like this was to be said of the body yesterday. It threatened to be a dead calm until the Lieutenant-Governor's nomination was put to the convention and it took just three and a half hours to make its will known.

There was some cheering when the name of Judge Winston was proposed as Permanent Chairman, but greater excuse for

joy was given when the further recommendation was made that there be no speeches of nomination for offices not contested, barring the Governor's, of course.

This sweeping attack on convention oratory robbed a dozen men of the glory of being howled down. It included a long list of men of State.

Governor Glenn presented the Permanent Chairman, paying fine tribute to him as an aid in the administration of which Glenn was the head and Winston the Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Winston made a hundred-word speech, the closing words of which were a shout for action, "What is the further pleasure of this great, representative, North Carolina Democratic assemblage?"

And as he sat down, Governor Glenn arose and said: "I move that the convention proceed to the nomination of the next Governor of North Carolina." The convention met the motion with a tremendous shout as the response.

"The chair recognizes the gentleman from Jackson, the Hon. Felix E. Alley," Judge Winston said, "and the convention will hear him place in nomination the Hon. Locke Craig."

Again the convention came to its feet and cheered while Mr. Alley was making his way to the stand. The speaker began almost inaudibly, the convention hearing him with great difficulty. But he warmed nicely to it.

The warmest rebuke that was given was administered by Chairman Winston as Mr. Alley entered the closing paragraphs. He had tried to protest. He was too mild.

"Gentlemen of the Convention, I am not delivering to you a curtain lecture," he said with a fire of the eye that bade no patience with the unseemly impatience.

"But the man who is now speaking is naming the next Governor of two million people, and you owe it to them and to your own sense of decency to hear him patiently through."

What an effect that lecture had! There was no more noise through that speech and the mighty approval of the silent many arose to rebuke the noisy few. The speech was heard through.

Governor Glenn then moved that a committee be sent out

to escort Governor Craig into the hall. On it were named by the Chairman: Governor Glenn; S. L. Rogers, State Simmons Manager; Frank R. McNinch, State Kitchin Manager; Walter Clark, Jr., State Clark Manager, and Edward E. Britton, of The News and Observer.

Then the band raised the battle hymn, while Glenn and Craig marched in to martial music. The Tenth District arose to greet its favored and happy son. Every throat sounded its tribute. Louder and mightier it grew until Craig, boyish, small, humble, in the magnitude of his glory, stood before his people. And he didn't even smile. Did any of you see him four years ago when he stood before the State hosts in Charlotte? He came up to acknowledge his gratitude in the hour of defeat. He was just as happy, smiled more satisfiedly and pledged his energies more triumphantly to the great cause than he did yesterday. Craig in defeat and Craig in victory are a pair of noble brothers. And the convention four years ago swore that it would name him this year. It never was so happy in its pledge as it was yesterday when it redeemed itself without one discordant voice.

Governor Glenn, in presenting Mr. Craig, said. "I have the honor to conduct to this platform one of the purest, noblest, manliest patriots in North Carolina, your next Governor, Hon. Locke Craig."

MR. CRAIG'S SPEECH

I am profoundly grateful to the Democracy of North Carolina. By this nomination for the office of Governor you have conferred upon me an eminent distinction. It comes, not to my deserts, but from your generosity. Only once before has this nomination been made by acclamation. In the year 1900 —a time of storm and revolution—the State with one voice demanded the leadership of Charles B. Aycock. With the zeal of a crusader he devoted his intellect and soul to the task we laid upon him. He comprehended its difficulties and its grandeur. In its accomplishment he was sublime. For the first time in more than thirty years this convention meets

without the guidance of his strength and wisdom. We hear not the eloquence that thrilled and moved us to higher places. There is sorrow and bereavement to all the people, to those who were his neighbors, and to those who dwell in the far mountains and by the far sea. He gave us a hope that we did not know. His work and his life is a legacy priceless and imperishable.

I wish that I were worthy of this exalted honor and qualified for the responsibilities of the great hour. I shall forever cherish this manifestation of your confidence and esteem. I welcome the opportunity for service that quickens and calls for all my strength and more. If elected I shall be the executive of all the people regardless of race, or creed or politics. I shall stand for the policies that I have professed, steadfast to the principles of Democracy. I shall devote myself to the State and to the welfare of all her citizens. I know that all honor must eventually lie in the earnest and fearless and conscientious discharge of duty.

By placing in my hands at this eventful time the standard of Democracy, you have invested me with a trust, of the importance of which I am conscious. I do promise to fulfill this obligation to the limit of my ability, confident in the righteousness of our cause, and with an unfaltering faith that the cause and the principles for which we have long contended will triumph in the conflict that is now beginning.

Ours is an epoch significant with human destiny. If we would realize the magnificent possibilities of the future, we must adjust our laws and institutions to the conditions and forces of modern progress. This is the mission of our party—the striving of this fierce, militant, progressive Democracy. The crisis is upon us.

The problem has been evolved and emphasized by this era of industrial accomplishment, unprecedented and undreamed of. Like the dervish in the Arabian tale, man has gotten hold of the casket with the mysterious juice that reveals to him the hidden treasures. The genii, in whose keeping are the streaming forces of the universe, have whispered to him their secrets. He has tamed and harnessed the steam and the

lightning, and in obedience to his will they exert for him a power greater than that of all the beasts of burden on the earth combined. The world is pulsing with the currents of newly discovered energy. All the necessities of life, and all that can gratify the luxurious desires of men are created in manifold abundance as with a magician's wand. Riches have been piled up beyond conception. The gifts from Heaven to the Israelites in the Wilderness were niggardly compared with the bounty bestowed upon us.

This material development has not been accompanied by a corresponding intellectual and moral development. Conditions have been wrong. Has the burden been lifted from the shoulders of those who toil? Has the curse that man should eat bread by the sweat of his brow been lessened one jot or one tittle? Has there come to all the opportunity and the encouragement for the cultivation of nobler impulses and a purer life? Has the moral status of the individual been improved and society lifted to a higher plane, or do the "fruits of the tree of knowledge turn as we grasp them to apples of Sodom that crumble at the touch?"

> "Ye build, ye build, but ye enter not in,
> Like the tribes whom the desert devoured in their sin."

The consciousness that there is something wrong, something grievously unjust, is deep and universal. It is gathering strength; it will find expression; it will seek a remedy somewhere, somehow. John Ruskin says to England, and to us, too: "Shall the Parthenon be in ruins on its rock, and Bolton priory in its meadow, but these mills of yours be the consummation of the buildings of the earth, and their wheels be as the wheels of eternity? Think you that 'men may come and men may go,' but—mills—go on forever? Not so, out of these better or worse shall come; and it is for you to choose which." Let us look in earnestness. We have failed to adjust the law of equity to new conditions. The law itself has been the bondservant of unlimited extortion and insatiable greed.

It is not surprising that the equilibrium should have been

disturbed; for this modern progress has with such rapidity reconstructed the whole fabric of our social organization. The transformation has been wrought within the memory of men still living. Until our time there had been no essential change in the methods of industry, since the time when Abraham looked upon the Pyramids. The American and the European tilled their fields, manufactured their wares and transported their merchandise as did the people of Tyre and Babylon. The law that was adapted to the simplicity and individualism of the old order is not sufficient for the complex organization of the new order. Under the old order, competition regulated trade. The modern organization of industry has destroyed competition.

The law of the spinning wheel and the stage coach does not fit the vast mill, and the locomotive. In the old bottles the new wine is fermenting, and the new cloth is rending the old garment. The individual citizen cannot protect himself against the organized forces of modern life. He cannot protect himself against monopoly. It is the essential function of government to protect him.

By natural processes dictated by the spirit of enterprise, unrestrained by law, stimulated by avarice, these gigantic combinations have been evolved in natural order. They control every department of industry. They have arbitrary power. They take thought what we shall eat and what we shall drink and wherewithal shall we be clothed. They determine the cost of meat and bread, the cambric needle, the locomotive, the plow, the wagon, the automobile, the Parisian gown, the calico dress, the swallowtail coat, the overall. The price which we must pay for the necessities of life is arbitrarily fixed by this despotism of monopoly.

Our fathers would not tolerate a king because without right he levied a tax on tea. The citizen as an individual is powerless. We have seen these great concerns organized and existing in defiance of statute law and common right. In the broad light of day we have seen one conspiracy after another gather in the earnings of labor. The Government has not protected the citizen against this extortion; it has protected

extortion. The law does not restrain the extortioner, it guards every port of entry; the merchant vessels that would lessen his illegitimate profits have been excluded as public enemies. It has not withheld the hand of the extortioner, and by its statutes it has declared that no one else shall interfere.

The fixed policy of the Republican Party has been protection, protection for the trusts, or rather the fixed policy of the trusts has been protection for the Republican Party, the agency by which they exploit the people. This wall of protection has been raised higher and higher, not for the purpose of revenue, but for the purpose of conferring upon these concerns the power to levy extortion greater and greater. This is the only purpose, the only plausible pretense for our present tariff.

This license to plunder has been exercised to the limit. The people of this country are the most industrious, the most intelligent, the most creative people of the earth. Yet the great body of our workers receive as compensation for their work a smaller proportion of what they produce than any other people with whose condition we are acquainted. They may have more, but they produce much more. They submit to more injustice. The exactions of war levied upon the countries overrun by the armies of Ghengis Khan; the vast revenue that was gathered from all the conquered provinces of the Roman Empire when there went forth a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed; or that collected from the kingdoms of Europe in obedience to the imperial edicts of Charles V; the riches rung from the ancient princes and people by the rapacity of Warren Hastings, the proconsul of India; or the tax money paid by any people under any despotism, is insignificant compared with the inconceivable wealth taken from the industry and genius of the 90,000,000 American people—not for the purpose of government, but by the extortion of monopoly to swell the private fortunes of the privileged few. This goes on under laws and constitutions that ordain freedom and equality. In our vast complicated social organism we do not realize the subtle process, but we see the monstrous result.

We would go to war rather than yield a penny contrary to the accepted formula of our democracy. We would rise in insurrection if any man among us should claim to be Sir John or Lord Andrew. On every Fourth of July we march and blow horns and orate, and fling fireworks, for on that day it was declared that there should be no tax on tea or horseshoe nails. The tax paid to monopoly on the tin horns and the flags and the firecrackers is greater and more unjust than the tax that our fathers went to war about.

The burden of this injustice has fallen heaviest upon the agricultural sections, upon the men that plow the fields of the South and the Northwest. But, it is levied upon the earnings of men everywhere; upon the miner that digs in the darkness under the ground by the light of the candle on his cap; upon the women that stand by the looms in Massachusetts and North Carolina. It devours widows' houses and spares not the puny infant that suckles the dry breast.

They who profit by this wrong, and the financiers who stand behind the Republican Party cry out that business is threatened whenever this wrong is attacked. They have intimidated the country to a long-suffering submission, and would now intimidate the country by the threat to demoralize all industry and precipitate universal disaster if we elect for President a man that would stop this.

The effect of this legalized graft on economic conditions is co-existent with the more serious effect upon moral conditions. Opportunity and the encouragement for development is taken away. In this age of genius and plenty it has condemned men to material and to moral penury; it has commercialized our people and their ideals; it is corrupting our citizenship, and has made money and money-getting the consuming madness of the age. It sends greed and avarice and evil passions ravenous through society as a hard winter drives the wolves to the abodes of men. It has been proclaimed and maintained in the name of the men who toil, in the name of prosperity and patriotism; it has been embellished with all plausibility and sophristy, but like the whitened supulchre it is full of rottenness and dead men's bones.

The hour of awakening has come. The enlightened conscience of the people has at last been aroused. By half a century of unrighteous Republican rule the land was sowed with dragon teeth. The fierce contending factions have sprung up. The Republican Party is torn by internecine war—a field of Armageddon, where Gog and Magog, Taft and Roosevelt, are contending in their exposure of the crimes of Republican administrations. Each is boasting of his nearness to democratic teachings and denouncing the other for his proximity to Republican rascality. The Republican tariff policy is as discredited today as is the Force Bill and Reconstruction. They promised the people; they promised the trusts; the day of exposure and condemnation has come.

This country is today humiliated in the eyes of all the civilized nations by the fact that a man who was for seven years President of the United States is denouncing to shouting multitudes the now President of the United States as a timeserver, a crook, a liar, a man of dishonor, a weakling, the tool of bad men who use him to plunder the people. President Taft is the man whom Roosevelt after a long and intimate acquaintance named as his successor. The Republican Party in many States and in North Carolina has endorsed this characterization of the Republican President, and his administration.

At the outset of the campaign Roosevelt announced that he would accept the nomination if tendered. Now he intends to take it by violence. He will run for President if he has to destroy the Republican Party, upset the Government, and bankrupt the "good trusts" that are supporting him, the Harvester Trust and the Steel Trust. The Trust that will not stand in with this "practical statesman" he denounces as a "bad trust," "a malefactor of great wealth."

No man that is honestly supporting Roosevelt and the policies for which he stands can honestly support Taft and the policies for which he stands. Roosevelt, reckless, violent, illogical, irresponsible, represents the lawless insurrection in the Republican Party against Republicanism; a man of power and daring and inordinate egotism he would overthrow con-

stitutional government, the laws of the institutions which are the guarantee of the liberty of the English race, and which have been built by a thousand years of wisdom and sacrifice. By the impassioned utterance of revolutionary doctrines he is winning the plaudist and the votes of a large class who regard not our institutions and ideals. What, they ask, has the Government done for them? As they have seen it and felt it, favoritism, not to them but to the few, has been the law; equal rights to all and special privilege to none a Fourth of July mockery. This is the result of Republican rule.

If we would cultivate a spirit of patriotism and loyalty to our institutions we must see that the law is made and administered in justice to all men alike, that this Republic is worthy of the highest devotion and fealty. Is it any wonder that thousands of toilers prefer the daring rough rider who promises, law or no law, to "turn more of their earnings into the pay envelope?"

By fifty years of misrule, growing worse; by the plunder of all the people for the benefit of the few, the Republican Party has brought the country to this appalling crisis. It presents to us on the one side President Taft, the representative of the same old system of injustice and rottenness now repudiated, and against which the people have risen in condemnation and universal revolt; on the other side, Roosevelt. He too is responsible for present conditions. During his administration nearly all the trusts in the United States were organized. He forbade them not. They financed his campaign. He is a "practical man," with the mask of the people and the money of Wall Street, the "cestui qui" trust of the trusts. He stands for personal despotism. His election would be the end of the Republic and the breaking up of laws.

In this time of confusion and injustice and threatened revolution the American people must turn for hope and safety to the Democratic Party; the party that is the logical, earnest exponent of constitutional government, and the progressive thought of the age. It is the party that stands for the liberation and for the protection of the people and all legitimate

enterprise from the men and the organizations that prey upon the public; it stands for the punishment of the criminal, whether he shouts under the red flag of anarchy, or whether in treason at the directors' board he conspires against the general good; it stands for the security of property and for the rights of labor, for that prosperity which comes by the guarantee of equal and exact justice and for that progress which comes when the honest hope and opportunity to the high and to the low are not denied; it stands for the government of law and for the restoration of the union to the high and holy purpose of human welfare.

Though the minority party it has been the author of the constructive policies that have prevailed. It stood for the restoration of the South, and it was done. It stood for the settlement of the race policy, and it was done. It stood for the control of public service corporations, and it was done. It stood and stands for the reform of the tariff, and against the tyranny of the trusts. It stands against Taft and it stands against Roosevelt.

The ardent dream of the Democrat of yesterday is today "the vociferate voice of public opinion" and tomorrow the Charter of the Nation. Democracy is everywhere advancing, united, determined, as never before. The victory of 1910 was the promise of the triumph of 1912.

In this crisis of the nation's life the Democratic Party has the greatest responsibility of its history. If the Republic is to be saved, the Democratic Party must save it. Roosevelt and the Rough Riders are crossing the Rubicon. If we are to have a Caesar, let us have one that at least can represent the grandeur of the American people. The Romans had Julius, the English had Cromwell, the French had Napoleon. Do "we want Teddy?" Not yet. Not yet will we forsake the ideals of Washington and Jefferson for Roosevelt. Let him run. The descendants of the men of Lexington and Kings Mountain will teach mankind another lesson in Democracy.

When in calmness we review our history all good people must rejoice that in recent years the Democratic Party has controlled this State. This feeling must come to all, regardless of politics.

In 1900, the era of bitterness and strife and shame was succeeded by the era of security and prosperity and peace. The State entered upon a career of material and moral and intellectual development unprecedented in her history. She was free. She rejoiced in her freedom. Agriculture was invigorated. The towns grew to cities. The wasting energies of her streams have been transformed to currents of electric power. Mills for the manufacture of the product of forest and farm have been built, the blast of the locomotive has waked the echoes in the remotest sections. In spite of the restraint of unjust national law, and unjust transportation discrimination, wealth has been multiplied, for enterprise has felt the security of the wise and honest administration of the State Government. Never before has there been such a moral awakening, such an intellectual revival. An efficient public school has been opened to every child in the State. The State institutions of learning are thronged with eager students and rank with the very best in the Union. The denominational colleges are flourishing as never before. The dream of universal education is about to be realized.

The unfortunate have been remembered in mercy. Magnificent homes have been provided for the insane, and schools for the blind and deaf and dumb. The aged and afflicted veterans of the Confederacy have not been forgotten. Their deeds in victory and in defeat are a glory to the race, and the priceless heritage of the South. The Democratic Party has provided and will provide for the necessities of their declining years.

"When we remember that the Democratic Party was the Guardian Angel of the South in her darkest hours; that it was the Democratic Party that took the South by the hand in the hour of desolation and lifted her up and set her again in the house of her fathers—when we remember these forty years—well may we paraphrase the adjuration of the faithful Hebrew: 'If I forgot thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!' * * * The South will be faithful to the Democracy!"

We will never again turn the State over to the party that has the record of 1868, and 1869, and the blacker record of 1895 and 1897.

Compare these two periods of shame and disaster to the unsullied record of every Democratic administration since the war. We remember with thanksgiving the glorious administration of Aycock when the State rose like the Phoenix from the ashes of her humiliation, hailed the coming of the morning, and poised herself for the light of a grander day. We remember with pride the administration of Governor Glenn, notable for the settlement of the temperance question; notable too for the courage and determination with which he met the issue between the State and the railroads. Then more was done toward the control of the public service corporations than Roosevelt with all his bluster and big stick has ever done. We contemplate with satisfaction and congratulations the present administration of Governor Kitchin, when the government of the State and all of her institutions have been administered with economy and wisdom and honesty above reproach. In the Lower House of Congress we have ten Representatives who have been among the foremost in the great fight that has been made against special privileges, and in the Upper House we have Senator Simmons and Senator Overman who stand with fidelity to the interests of their State and their party, and who have been put forward by their associates as the ablest leaders and exponents of Democracy.

I believe that North Carolina is beginning the era of her highest development. We have 2,500,000 people of pure English and Scotch-Irish blood. We have no large cities. Ours is a rural population, good, strong, farmer folks. We value the men that have built our towns and cities, the men who had the ability and the enterprise to make the Old North State one of the foremost in manufacture and commerce, but North Carolina is essentially a Farmer State, and the farm is beginning to reveal the hope for her finest life. Only a few years ago the home on the farm was isolated and the cultivation of the fields grudgingly yielded a meager support for the family. There was no encouragement for the farmer, and no opportunity, on the farm, for the farmer's children.

These conditions have changed. The increase of urban population throughout the civilized world, and the extending of the markets have enlarged the demand and increased the value of the great staples. The improvement in transportation has not only added to the profits of the standard crops, such as corn and cotton, but it has enabled the farmer to use his land for the production of the crop to which it is best adapted. His vegetables, his strawberries, his apples, his cantaloupes, are no longer limited to home consumption, but are carried by the lightning express to the metropolitan cities, and served on the costly tables of those who can afford the luxury of North Carolina products. The telephone puts the farmer's home in immediate communication with his neighbors, and with his town, and with the markets of the world. The old country road of monotonous mud, diversified with gulleys and boulders, has been replaced by the modern highway. The old road wasted untold energy and cost uncounted money. It was a barrier to prosperity and culture. It is no longer to be tolerated. The modern highway is one of the greatest modern instrumentalities of opportunity. It enriches the soil, multiplies the ears of corn, paints the church, puts music in the home, inspires the boy with ambition, clothes the maiden in better taste, and puts a finer bloom upon her cheek.

The time has come for the State to adopt a policy for the building and improvement of the public roads that will insure a system of modern highways to the State and to every community in the State. The old southern home of chivalry and culture is coming back with the multiplied opportunities of modern progress. The fertile, well-tilled farm, generous in its returns, adorned by the home of culture and independence, is the highest hope of a nation's life, and the safe-reliance in the time of danger. Relieve the farmer of unjust burdens and the South is the most favored land of all the earth. Give the expansive energy of the American people a fair chance and their supremacy in arts and commerce will be acknowledged by all the nations.

Just government is essential to all real progress. If one sow and another reap, the curse is upon him that sows as

well as him that reaps. "Thou shalt not steal" is not limited to petty larceny of the statute. There was no discrimination by the Law-Giver of Sinai between the footpad and the millionaire. The pillage of the night is nothing to the plunder in the face of day.

If North Carolina would fulfill her obligations as a Sovereign State she must guarantee to all her people, and to all her industries that opportunity which comes with justice—justice that is "grander than benevolence, more august than charity." Let her statutes be the law of righteousness for the protection of the weak, and for the encouragement of every enterprise of field and steepled city. Let her unalterable judgment be that property shall be safe; that the rights of those who toil shall be sacred; that no monopoly wherever organized shall exist within her borders to strangle her legitimate business, and to despoil her children; that her material development and her moral and intellectual development shall proceed together.

The mighty contest is opening, great as any that was ever "proclaimed by the trumpet or pleaded by the sword"; the elemental forces are gathering for the strife. The squadrons are marching.

North Carolina has a past that is glorified and sanctified by heroism and martyrdom. We are the heirs of this inheritance, and are for a time the custodians of her destiny. We lift up the banner of equal justice. We will write Democracy not only upon the leaves of her statutes, but in the lives of her people. We appeal to all men who love the traditions of the past, and revere the constitution of the fathers; to the young men especially, with the noble ardor and courage of youth, to all who hate unjust privilege, who believe in equal opportunity to men.

"And he who will hear to him the clarions
of battle call."

PART II

MEMOIRS AND SPEECHES

OF

LOCKE CRAIG

INCLUDING A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS INAUGURATION AT THE STATE CAPITAL, JAN. 15TH, 1913

ANDREW CRAIG REBECCA GILLIAM CRAIG

MOTHER AND FATHER OF LOCKE CRAIG

THE WIDOW'S SON

"Let Her Works Praise Her In The Gates"

(In Memory of the Mother of Locke Craig on his Inauguration As Governor of North Carolina)

The husband of her life forever gone,
Her fortune wrecked in war; herself alone
Two tender sons to rear—O every day
Her heart must crush with fear and dark dismay!
She faltered not, nor sat disconsolate;
Her sons each side she clasped, full facing fate,
And guided straight to Wisdom's Door; where youth
By teachers true are fired with zeal for truth,
Where eyes undimmed gaze up the steepest height,
Where soul enkindles soul to loftiest flight.
O spirit pure, look down today on earth!
Men shout the name of Craig, whom thou gav'st birth;
He whom thou taught'st to face and conquer fate,
The widow's son, doth rule a mighty State.

—GEORGE TAYLOE WINSTON.

Asheville, N. C., Jan. 14, 1913.

NOTE: This beautiful poem appeared in The Raleigh News and Observer, Wednesday morning, January 15th, the day of the inauguration of Locke Craig as Governor of North Carolina. The writer, Dr. George T. Winston, has been a life-long friend of the Craig family, and was a boyhood friend of the Governor's. He knew well and greatly admired the mother of Locke Craig.

THE INAUGURATION

NOTE: Wednesday, January 15, 1913, Locke Craig was inaugurated Governor, the oath of office being taken about noon, in the Auditorium at Raleigh. The ceremonies incident, began at about eleven o'clock, when the Governor-Elect and his escort left the Yarborough House, then Raleigh's principal hotel, accompanied by a magnificent military escort, civic authorities, local and state committees, etc. The newspaper accounts of the ceremony are well worth preserving, and give a graphic description of the events leading up to and including the inauguration, which is always an impressive one in North Carolina, but on this occasion, owing to the good feeling that prevailed among all classes of our citizenship, from the fact that the new Governor was the unanimius choice of the whole State, this inauguration was unusually impressive. Therefore the following clippings are given below as souvenirs worth preserving, as well as fitting preliminaries, leading up to that greatest of all the Governor's speeches—his Inaugural Address.

The Inaugural Events

(The Raleigh News and Observer, Jan. 15, 1913)

10:15 to 10:45 A.M.—Escort, Mayors and Press Committees assemble at Yarborough Hotel.
10:30 A.M.—Receptios Committee meets in New Municipal Building.
10:50 A.M.—Committees call on Governor-Elect Craig.
11:00 A.M.—State Officers assemble at Yarborough Hotel.
10:45 A.M.—Military and other Organizations form at Nash Square.
11:15 A.M.—Parade Moves.
11:40 A.M.—Parade passes Governor's Mansion.
12:00 M.—Inaugural in Auditorium.
1:30 P.M.—Review of Parade.
2:30 P.M.—Luncheon to Governor Craig and Party.
7:30 P.M.—Public Reception at Mansion.
9:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M.—Inaugural Ball in Auditorium.

In The Raleigh Auditorium

1. Dixie.....Third Regiment Band
2. Prayer.....Rev. Dr. R. T. Vann
3. America.....Raleigh Choral Society
4. Administration of Oath of Office to State Officers by the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.
5. Administration of Oath of Office to Hon. Locke Craig, by the Chief Justice.
6. Old North State.....Raleigh Choral Society
7. Presentation of His Excellency the Governor, by Hon. W. W. Kitchin.
8. Address.....Governor Locke Craig
9. Star Spangled Banner.....Raleigh Choral Society

Governor-Elect Locke Craig is in the city. With his party from Asheville he arrived last night, the military of that city and many citizens coming as an escort. Today at noon he will

be sworn in as Governor of the State amidst impressive ceremonies in the Auditorium.

For this great four-yearly event in the history of the State of North Carolina, Raleigh is ready to give welcome to all of the visitors. In fact, it has welcomed them in great numbers already, for in ever growing numbers they arrived in the city yesterday and during the night. Today they will come by the thousands, and with the splendid weather plus the many attractive features of the inaugural exercises, there will be anywhere from 20,000 to 25,000 here to take part in the events which surround the inauguration of Locke Craig.

The City is decorated in a most beautiful manner along the line of the parade over the principal streets. Great arches, in United States and State flags and parti-colored bannerets span the streets, and pennants on the "side lines" add to the decorative features. Many thousands of people will be on the streets during the parade, and with the moving of the military, the music of the bands, the rush of the automibiles, the dash of the horses, and the other features of the big inaugural parade, the moving scene will be one that will impress itself on the memory of all.

The beginning of today's events properly began last evening at 7:30 when on a special train Governor-Elect Craig and Mrs. Craig, Democratic State Chairman Charles A. Webb and Mrs. Webb, and the guests who accompanied them arrived in the city. The train left Asheville at 9:00 o'clock yesterday morning with the Asheville delegation and the Asheville Military Company aboard. At all points along the route there were accessions, and at Greensboro the Legislative Inaugural Committee met the Governor-Elect, while at Durham a large delegation of the citizens, Reception and Escort Committees gave indications of the warm welcome to be extended by Raleigh.

The arriving party last night told of ovations given to Governor-Elect Craig all along the route. Time after time he was called to the platform and from the train to shake hands with delegations of citizens. There were demonstrations of this kind at Swannanoa, Black Mountain, Old Fort, Marion,

Hickory, Newton, Statesville, Salisbury, Lexington, Thomasville, High Point, Greensboro and Durham. Wearing badges showing they were members of the committee to escort him to Raleigh there entered the train at nearly every stopping point many North Carolina citizens. It was proof of the State-wide interest in the inauguration of Locke Craig.

* * * * * * * *

Charles Aycock saw the ultimate reward of Craig. Standing before a convention in Charlotte four years ago and asking it to nominate Craig, he called attention to the fact that North Carolina had rewarded him and Robert B. Glenn, Cleveland electors, by making each District Attorney and later laying the choicest chance for service before them, the governorship. "Shall the Cleveland electors be rewarded while the Bryan electors"—but he never finished the sentence. The crowd cheered fifteen minutes. Of course everybody knew the antithesis. And again when Aycock described his own love for Eastern North Carolina, its broad fields and its seas, he burst into another beautiful piece of patriotism: "But I love the east too much to see it forever the debtor of the west." And again the assembly cheered like mad.

The west today comes into its own. The first time since Vance was given to the Commonwealth does a Governor come from the heart of the great hills. Buncombe, which gave a new word to the language, today gives a new Vance and a new Aycock to the State. This is the feeling everywhere.

It is published on the streets, but better, it is written in the hearts of men. Never was such preparation made for a Chief Executive in North Carolina. All over the city pennants, streamers, flags and "Welcome to Craig" are floating in the glorious breezes without an equal in all the atmosphere. "What does it mean?" asked a man yesterday, who had never voted for Craig until November. "There never was any such business as this before," he declared. And he was asked if he didn't have the feeling. He said he did.

Locke Craig is made Governor today. It is twelve years to the day since Charles B. Aycock took the oath of office. He

went in Tuesday, January 15, 1901. Locke Craig comes in Wednesday, January 15, 1913. Aycock's administration began with a new State Constitution, a change of political party, a new century and a new duty, that of educating all the people. Locke Craig comes in with a change of party in the nation, a new policy, and with growing sentiment for changes in both the State and the National Constitutions. He faces a new and a great duty, that of putting all North Carolina places in calling distance of each other by a system of good roads.

Even the weather promises to duplicate its performance of twelve years ago. A finer day above and below, was never seen. In that connection it is well to call to mind the error of Sunday which said that Aycock's administration began with his inaugural in the Academy of Music. It didn't. It took place in the open and the whole city stood up and heard him. This afternoon Governor Craig speaks in the Auditorium an inclosed indoors almost as large as the great outdoors of his great predecessor. So faithful has been the similarity of their careers that the weather promises not to spoil the final effect of the ceremonial. * * *

(The Asheville Citizen, January 16, 1913)

The progress of the "Craig Special" which left Asheville at 9:10 yesterday morning had been in the nature of a triumphant advance from the time that the Governor-Elect and warm friends and admirers left the mountain metropolis, but it was eclipsed by the scenes enacted on the streets of Raleigh when the inauguration parade left the Governor's Mansion for the Auditorium, where the crowning feature of the ceremony with which Asheville is so prominently identified, made her illustrious citizen the Governor of the State. It is conservatively estimated that fully 20,000 people lined the streets when the first carriage containing the Governor-Elect, Governor Kitchin, Chairman Weaver, of the Inaugural Committee, and Chairman Bunn, of the House Inaugural Committee, moved away from the Mansion. Other carriages to the number of thirty or more followed, moving through two

files of militia companies drawn up at "attention" on both sides of the streets leading to the Auditorium. The Third Regiment was represented by Company B, of Raleigh; Company C, Henderson; Company D, Louisburg; Company F, Franklinton; Company H, Warrenton; and Company M, Durham.

The Second Regiment sent Company E, Goldsboro; Company F, Fayetteville; and Company H, Clinton. The First Regiment sent sections of three companies and the recently formed Cavalry Troop from Asheville. The Third Regiment was also represented by the Coast Artillery, of Greensboro, and the Ambulance Corps.

The parade advanced slowly up Fayetteville Street across Capitol Square around West and North Streets to Wilmington Street, thence back to the Square through Edenton, Salisbury and Morgan Streets into Fayetteville Street, reaching the Auditorium shortly after 11:00 o'clock.

A mighty cheer rang from stage to roof of the great building when Governor Craig, accompanied by Governor Kitchin and the inaugural party, advanced into the hall. The great audience rose to its feet, mounted chairs, and cheered for more than ten minutes. Many of the lavish decorations in the building, including the national colors and tri-colored streamers, were torn from their fastenings and waved aloft. The galleries, not to be outdone by those on the main floor, laid violent hands on the festoons of evergreens that hung from the giant girders within reach and waved them as they cheered. Above the tumult of the cheering could be heard insistent cries of "Craig! Craig! Give us Craig, the Good Roads Governor!"

One old veteran who was close to the stage stretched his hands toward the Governor and with tears streaming down his cheeks was heard to say: "God bless you, Locke. You were always the soldier's friend."

Governor Craig repeatedly bowed his acknowledgement as the ovation continued and now and then he smiled in pleased recognition of his friends from the mountain section who appeared to be bent on making the most noise. When quiet was

finally restored, the impressive moment of the inauguration, the administration of the oath of office, was at hand. In a clear, firm voice audible in all parts of the hall, Governor Craig vowed fealty to his great trust. Intense silence prevailed as the Governor took the oath and then there was renewed outburst of cheering. Following the Chief Executive, the other State Officers, as named above, were sworn in, and at 12:30 Governor Craig began his inaugural address.

At its conclusion the military parade was re-formed and reviewed by Governor Craig and his party from the balcony of the Yarborough Hotel. The soldier boys made a brave showing and were received with repeated ovations from the assembled thousands. The marchers dipped colors and "presented arms" as they passed the reviewing stand.

The boys from the A. & M. College, numbering 500, received the greatest ovation as they marched past the Governor and his staff. They wore their regulation gray uniforms and all the officers were mounted.

The Naval Brigade from Wilmington and the Boy Scouts of Raleigh also received much recognition from the crowds. The troops dispersed in front of the Capitol and the Governor and his staff were taken to the Executive Mansion for luncheon, to which about 200 guests had been invited.

The inaugural ball which began at 10:30 o'clock tonight at the Auditorium was a brilliant affair. The grand march was led by Governor and Mrs. Craig with the Governor's Staff in full uniform and the new State Officers following. All the civilian dancers were in evening dress and the brilliant uniforms of National Guard officers formed a picturesque contrast. Dancing was continued until after midnight.

It is stated on the best authority that all records for attendance at gubernatorial inaugurations were broken today. Some estimates place the number of strangers in the city at 30,000 but previously stated, conservative estimates range from 20,000 to 25,000.

The largest crowds on record up to this time were those which attended the inauguration of Governor Vance, when almost the entire State poured into the capitol to celebrate the

redemption of North Carolina from the bonds of reconstruction. It is worthy of note that in this instance, too, Asheville furnished the central figure of the inauguration exercises.

(News and Observer, Raleigh, January 16, 1913)

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The applause that met Governor W. W. Kitchin as he was introduced by J. W. Bunn, of Wake, lasted fifty-five seconds. Mr. Kitchin stood and waited until the people were quiet. Then he uttered this very tasteful sentence: "Honorable Members of the General Assembly, Ladies and Gentlemen: I take pleasure in presenting the Hon. Locke Craig, Governor-Elect, who before making his inaugural address will qualify by taking the prescribed oath of office, administered by the Chief Justice, Walter Clark." The Choral Society sang the Old North State.

Mr. Craig advanced to the speaker's stand which was decorated in the gorgeous ensigns of the State and the Republic. The whole assembly arose and gave the new Governor a greeting as vigorous as it was deep. Sectional pride may have moved many, but Buncombe did not beat Brunswick and Bertie was not more voluble than Burke. It was the uprising of all the counties for Craig.

The new Governor stood and smilingly waved the people to silence. It was his turn to talk and theirs to hear. The odds were against him for a moment, but he warmed quickly to concert pitch. Once from out the moving throng, so many of whom came for the pyrotechnics, there rang out the unknown and irrepressible quantity, "Louder." The sharp rebuke of a woman who wanted to know, "Why do the foolish people all stand up? They can see just as well sitting down," reminded one of the woman who assured the rising congregation as it stood to worship in song, that it "needn't get up for me; I can find a seat." This censorship of inaugural manners touched many ladies.

With the moving stilled, Governor Craig had little difficulty in reaching everybody. For each person who came not to hear the message and retired, there were three who pushed for a seat, this momentary demoralization kept the speaker's

first words from the great bulk. The first manifestation of applause was the climax to his Biblical picture of the leavening loaf. "In this time of difficulty and hope the nation turns for guidance to the Democratic Party," was the sentiment that spread widely.

Again, when Craig quoted the dictum of Vance, that it ought to be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for the exploiters of the people, the audience burst into terrific applause.

Governor Craig read his paper, but passionate and spontaneous oratory never sounded to better effect. One removed from sight would never have thought he had manuscript. His beautiful voice thundered when it was necessary; it pleaded at his slightest behest.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Gentlemen of the General Assembly and My Fellow Citizens: Democracy gives to the people the pledge of progress. The thought of the age has created a nobler purpose in government. The Democratic Party intends to effectuate this purpose by legislation in recognition of the equal rights of man, and for the progressive welfare of all the ranks of life.

In our material prosperity, privilege has been substituted for justice. The vast wealth of modern industry, the products of labor and genius have not been divided in equity, but have been gathered into the enormous fortunes of the few.

We have not realized the moral benefits that should have resulted from modern progress. Avarice has been stimulated; hope and opportunity have been denied; antagonism and resentments have been generated. All classes have suffered. We realize the conditions; the injustice has been uncovered. It can not stand in the clear, calm and resolute gaze of the American people. They are determined that our law shall be based upon a higher conception of social obligation and that our civilization shall mean a higher social life. They have put their hands to the plow and will not look back.

A new era has dawned; the last election marks the beginning of an epoch in our Government. The Republican Party had the prestige of victory and tradition; it had the power of place and of organized wealth; but it stood for privilege—it took from the Republic its highest meaning, that equal justice is the inalienable heritage of men; it stood for that prosperity which is not the handmaid of moral and intellectual growth; it stood in the path of the progressive thought of the age; with all its power and prestige it was crushed. Like the leaven which the woman hid in three measures of meal, the leaven of Democracy has been at work.

In this time of difficulty and hope the country turns for guidance to the Democratic Party.

The spirit of progress pervades the Union and the people demand legislation responsive to the impulse of the age.

North Carolina will not continue to march in the rear of the procession of States. She is impatient for the advance. Throbbing with energy, potential with accomplishment, she looks expectant to this administration and to this General Assembly. I believe that you Senators and Representatives will perform your task with wisdom and courage and that your work will be for the welfare of this generation and of our posterity. The responsibility is ours, the opportunity is ours.

Constitutional government and the ideals of the fathers have ever been sacred to the Democratic Party; but these ideals must be vital for practical accomplishment and militant for justice. It was said of the celebrated opinion of Chief Justice Taney, that "it gave the law to the North and the nigger to the South." We are not content with the forms and ceremonies of the law. The ideals of our Government must be applied to present conditions.

The first duty of the State is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of his rights, to protect the weak from the oppression of the strong. This is what the men were doing at Runnymede.

The discrimination which the railroads have made against North Carolina in freight rates is the injustice of arbitrary

power. It has already worked irreparable injury; it has already cost our people millions of dollars and driven from our territory industries the value of which we can not estimate. These corporations have the protection of our laws, they operate by our license, they enjoy privileges, and exercise the sovereign power of eminent domain granted by the State. They collect excessive rates from our people that cheaper rates may be granted to the people of adjoining States.

I feel no antagonism to railroads. I know that our welfare, to a large extent, is dependent upon their efficient operation, which can only result from just remuneration. I know that their prosperity is co-existent with our prosperity. Besides, for no consideration can the State afford to be unjust. I intend, as the Chief Executive of this State, to administer her laws with impartiality and with even-handed justice to corporation and to individual, to the great and to the lowly. But when any corporation or any person shall persistently and defiantly by arbitrary wrong cripple the industries of this State and despoil her people, such person or corporation may expect relentless resistance and resentment.

Vance said of those who were exploiting the State in 1876, that it ought to be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for such in North Carolina. The spirit of Vance and 1876 lives today.

The city of High Point is to be congratulated that in the shipment of its furniture to the West it will have the same freight rate as rival cities of Virginia. The same rule must apply to all our cities and to all our commerce.

This administration is ready to put into operation the executive power of the State to prevent the continuation of this wrong. I feel sure that this General Assembly is ready to exercise any constitutional power to compel justice.

Is it possible that any person or any industry within our territory shall not be accorded by common carriers the same rights that are enjoyed by the people of other States? If this be true, then ours is a territory to move out of. And hundreds of industries have moved. We occupy the land and boast of the lineage and bear the names of the Englishmen of

Halifax and of the Scotch-Irish of Mecklenburg. We have inherited Magna Charta, but it is worthless without the spirit of the men who made it.

We will win. The State will receive immense benefit. Our industries will feel the impulse and new ones will spring up.

North Carolina has paid, too, her quota of tribute to the rapacity of unlawful monopoly. We have been preyed upon by trusts abroad and by trusts at home. They take from the earnings of all. The poor must suffer most. The farmers especially have been plundered and oppressed in the open day, without hindrance, by a great concern adjudged now to be in violation of law. We have been a patient, long-suffering people. In our platform there is promised legislation that "will make the existence of these concerns impossible." There is promised the enforcement of the civil and criminal law against the trust and against the man behind the trust.

In the fulfillment of this promise we need a trust law, clad in blue uniform, that can raid a trust den with a warrant and handcuffs in its hand. The guilty should be made to tremble, the innocent may fear not. While I am Governor no innocent man shall suffer by the criminal law.

The cry will be raised that such legislation will injure business. The trust will shield itself, if possible, behind legitimate industry. It will paralyze, if it can, the hand of justice by warnings of disaster from the interference with business.

The destruction of piracy is the protection of industry. It is the duty of the State to protect and to encourage every enterprise, small and great. And this is the age of large enterprises. They are essential in the economy of our civilization and are the agencies of its tremendous power and accomplishment. "All the currents of the time run to centralization. To successfully resist it we must throttle steam and discharge electricity from human service." But these forces should be for the service and not for the oppression of mankind.

One of the greatest works to be done in North Carolina is the development of her water powers. This enterprise is now beginning to assume its splendid proportions. It is potential

with magnificent upbuilding. The energy of our rivers, which has been wasted in wild cataract and cascade, has been harnessed and driven to cities and towns in currents of power obedient for all manner of service. This industry should be welcomed and encouraged. The men behind it are benefactors of the State. The policy of our law is that the State shall regulate and control public service corporations. These water powers are the natural agencies for public service. They are natural monopolies and since the time of the ancient grist mills have been subject to governmental regulations. The corporations operating these water powers for public use should be controlled by our Corporation Commission. This must be done eventually, and it is but fair and right that it should be done now. We should always remember, however, that remuneration should be in proportion to the boldness of the conception and to the risk of the enterprise. This is just.

For the protection of the people who work in factories and on the railroads we should have an employer's liability law. It should provide reasonable compensation for injury or death, without the delay and the expense of litigation. This law should be just to employer and employee, and it would be to the advantage of both. It would eliminate the contingencies and expense objectionable to both. It is demanded by good business as well as by the progressive humanity of the age.

From the task of protection we proceed to the grander task of construction.

We have in North Carolina two and a half millions of people of pure English and Scotch-Irish blood. We rejoice in the enterprise and industry and courage of our urban population, and we honor our leaders in business, the master men who have built up and organized great industries and developed our expanding commerce. But this is essentially a Farmer State, and will be for generations. We have no large cities. Eighty per cent of our population is rural—good, sturdy farmer folks. They grow and spend their lives in the country. Their destiny, the destiny of our Commonwealth, the destiny of us all, must be determined by the conditions that exist in the country.

North Carolina is a grand old State, her past has been heroic in peace and in war. But we must confess with humiliation, that we have neglected our country children worse than any other State in the Union, save one or two. In the discharge of the sacred duty of protecting their health and the paramount duty of providing for their education, we stand among the lowest. We must expiate this sin before we can longer claim our noble heritage.

The State has been blessed with all the natural conditions conducive to health and strength. Sufferers from far countries come here to recover from disease and to renew the vigor of youth in our salubrious air. But we have allowed disease and death to stalk abroad at noon-day. Most of the serious diseases are preventable diseases. Formerly the work of the doctor was to heal the sick, now it is to preserve health. The beneficence of scientific medicine is to drive back disease and suffering. Men and women and children suffer and die from causes that could be removed. They are deaf and dumb, and feebleminded, and are stricken with blindness and insanity, condemned to lives of darkness and hopelessness, not by the inscrutable decrees of Providence, but by the failure of society to protect them against the enemy more cruel than death. The courage and energy of a conquering race must spring from robust health.

We must provide for the accurate record of births and deaths and the causes of disease in every community. We can thus ascertain with accuracy the sanitary conditions in each community and intelligently work for the prevention of disease and for the promotion of health. Each county and each city should have an intelligent, efficient, well paid health officer. We can appeal to our citizenship through the press, the school house and the pulpit and encourage them to purer and more healthful home conditions, to the inestimable blessings of all the people.

The mill men of North Carolina deserve commendation for the humane spirit with which they have cared for the health and education of their employees and the children of their employees. In many places they have provided schools and

libraries and comfortable reading rooms. Some of the great organizers and heads of industries take the most active interest in the cleanliness of their factory towns and the welfare of their workers. But the State should not neglect her duty longer because individuals have sometimes done their duty.

I doubt not that the General Assembly will ratify by statute the humane recommendations made for the protection of women and children by the Committee of Mill Men and the Committee of the Society for the Protection of Child Labor.

The highest duty of society is the education of the children. The command to educate our country children has been thundered from the conscience of the age. When in obedience to the demands of the people and of justice to the child, the General Assembly shall provide for a six months' rural school, North Carolina will feel the impulse of an exalted hope. Then it will not be long before the stigma of ignorance will be wiped out, the stigma which through the long years has been our misfortune and our humiliation.

This act of beneficent wisdom will reach down to the children of the lowliest and lift up to a clearer vision. It will show them hope and endow them with a new strength. It will lift the whole State up and give to her a nobler and a grander meaning. And prosperity, and juster laws, and nobler institutions and ideals will follow in the train of universal enlightenment.

The time has come for the State to exercise her sovereign authority and compel the attendance of her children upon the schools. The child cannot work to advantage, but his mind is eager for knowledge and most retentive. His character is responsive to culture. The factory is no place for the child. The drudgery of toil is not his rightful inheritance before his bones are hard or his muscles are firm. If we grind the seed corn, there will be a failure in the crop of men.

Our institutions of higher learning must be sustained in their full vigor and efficiency. They are the dynamic centers of culture and are essential to the life of the State. If we

should allow them to begin to degenerate, our whole educational system would begin to lose its vitality and power.

Our eleemosynary institutions must be maintained in the high state of efficiency for which they have been noted. We must make provision for the deaf and the dumb and the blind and the insane and the feeble-minded. When in their distress and weakness they stretch forth their hands to us, they should not be driven back as were the blind men in the way to Jerusalem, for it was the Christ who said: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, my little ones, ye did it unto me."

I hope that you can provide a more generous pension for the Confederate soldiers. More than a half century ago they went in youth and strength to meet the invading host. Some fell amid the fierce tumult of historic days beneath the advancing flag, enshrined in eternal youth; many have passed since the war; the remnant of the heroic army is with us yet. Most of them are poor, all are disabled by age and the wounds and hardships of war. Our privilege to help them is closing, for the captains and the soldiers are departing. Soon it will be written what we did for the last of the battle-scarred men of Dixie.

We should encourage all of our industries, but especially should we stimulate the growth of agriculture. Its wonderful improvement is already an inspiration. Our famers are beginning to reap the harvests of the intelligent utilization of the soil.

We should provide, by every feasible method, for their protection, and for their obtaining the credits and the means, that increasing prosperity may come.

Improved highways are the arteries of the country. They create organized communities of isolated families and make these communities a part of the life of the great world. Dynamite and the steam shovel are making through the hills and through the granite of the mountains, pathways for the locomotive. The improved road would give the farmers access to the railroad, to the church, and to the school during all seasons of the year. Good roads stimulate improvement. Then enrich the soil. They arouse ambition and generous

emulation. They increase the value of every acre of land that they touch and the value of every man, woman and child whose home they pass. No community can hope for progress without the good road. We cannot have the benefits of modern civilization without it. It is not an expense; it is an investment that pays one hundred per cent dividend every year. And more, it brings culture and contentment and a better social life. Every community in the State must have it. The cost is much less than it was a few years ago.

I think that a general statute should be enacted, conferring upon the townships the power to levy taxes and issue bonds for road construction and providing administrative machinery. The counties can continue what they have been doing. The townships can complete and perfect the system. The State should supervise and encourage this great work by lending its credit and by all practicable, feasible means. All available convicts should be worked on the public roads. In this way they can be used more appropriately and more to the advantage of the public than in the cultivation of the field or in the mechanical arts.

It is not strange that in the past thousands of young men and women, yearning for a larger life, have left the loneliness and poverty of the farm with its denial of culture and social enjoyment. These conditions are passing away; the telephone now puts the home of the farmer in communication with his neighbors and with the men and the markets of the world. The mail carrier brings the daily paper pulsing with "the thoughts that shake mankind." The home on the farm with its freedom and purity, with all the opportunities of civilization, is the hope of our finest development.

The legislation of North Carolina has heretofore been considerate of the welfare of the people and fairly responsive to their demands. This State has not suffered as other States have suffered from corrupt and sinister influences, but these evils will come to us too unless we provide against them.

The primary election is already a recognized institution in our politics. It is a logical evolution of our democracy. We have it and let us have it in its best possible form. Let us

provide for it by law and let us protect it by law. To the limit of the law let us guarantee purity and fairness in all elections. The Democratic Party has set its face steadfastly against all manner of corruption. This General Assembly, in accordance with the declaration in the platform, will enact a statute for the conviction and punishment of all persons that would by any method of corruption whatsoever attempt to influence elections or the making or the administration of the law.

The most difficult question for this General Assembly is the raising of a sufficient revenue to meet the necessities of the State. The problem of taxation is always difficult and vital. The Government must be economically administered. No extravagance should be tolerated. We must provide revenue for all appropriations and necessary expenses. With the State, as with the individual, the elementary rule of business is, to live within your means. We are going to inevitable bankruptcy if we continually spend more than our income.

But North Carolina has ample resources with which to meet all her financial obligations. Within the last decade the value of her lands and the amount of her wealth have been multiplied. The railroads of North Carolina are more valuable today than was all her property put together in 1876.

We cannot repudiate the obligations of Christian civilization. Now that the land is yielding the bountiful harvest, now that the stagnant towns of the last generation are growing cities of increasing wealth, now that industry is triumphant, now that destiny is unfolding to us in grander revelation—shall we in this day of strength and prosperity withdraw any support from our institutions of learning, shall we deny the efficient administration of justice, shall we not hear the appeal of the unfortunate, shall it be written that to the Confederate soldiers we give less than any other Southern State, and for the education of our children we do less than any State in the Union? In this new century, when southern ideals are about to be restored to the Union, when southern statesmen are coming again to the places of power, when the

future beckons with renewed strength and life; forward, is the order.

The fault is that we do not assess our property for taxation. The land has been greatly undervalued and most of the personal property has not been valued at all. It seems that an immediate reassessment is necessary, and it should be done before this General Assembly shall adjourn sine die. It should be understood that the assessment is not ordered with the view of increasing the rate of taxation, but with the view of lowering the rate and with the determination of securing a more equitable and more complete listing of taxable property. The tax on inheritances should be increased and it should be collected.

In my opinion the impelling reason for undervaluation and concealment of property is not that men and communities desire to shirk the payment of their just proportion of taxes, nor that they desire to take advantage of other men and other communities, but the reason is that they do not desire that other men and other communities shall take the advantage of them. The taxpayer and the assessor, to insure a square deal for themselves and their communities, are actuated by a common purpose to undervalue property, and for this reason undervaluation and concealment have come to be the established custom.

The personal property of the average man can not be concealed. The securities of the wealthy can be concealed. The poor pay this tax. The wealthy escape.

If we could segregate property and provide that the property in each community should bear the governmental expense of that community and that property of a general character should meet the requirements of the State, the temptation to depreciation would be greatly lessened and the effort to conceal less successful. This is the essence and the strength of local self-government, the taxation of each community by its own people, for its own purpose and benefits. The unit should be no larger than is necessary to assure the advantages of co-operation.

The application of this principle has enabled our cities and

towns and many of our rural communities to enjoy the advantages of improvement and progress. We must eventually resort to this principle of local self-government for the highest development of local institutions. We must resort to this to obtain the best roads, and the best schools, and electric lights, and pure water, and the opportunities of modern life. To realize the full measure of the blessing of this beneficent principle we need an Amendment to our Constitution.

The formation and the submission to the people of such an amendment would be the supreme work of this General Assembly. Such an amendment would be of mighty significance in the life of the State. I believe that it could be framed to result in her enduring welfare.

In assuming the office of Governor I am deeply conscious of the solemn responsibility. I follow in the line of my able predecessors, whose administrations have been blessed with peace and plenty. There are difficulties to be met; as always the law must be enforced for the suppression of crime and for the maintenance of order, and as to the policies that vitally concern the State and all her varied interests, sharp differences must necessarily arise among able and patriotic men.

I am profoundly grateful to the people for calling me to the place where earnest endeavor is potential for the welfare of North Carolina. I welcome the opportunity. I do not shirk from the labor. I realize my limitations, and I am eager for the support and counsel of my friends, and of all good citizens who would guide me in the straight way and help me to do the best service.

I will strive to prefer uprightness to the approval of the mighty or to the applause of the multitude. My ambition is to perform this, my task, with fidelity and courage; I pray for that wisdom and strength vouchsafed to him who is steadfast in the resolve to do right.

On this day I dedicate myself to the service of all the people; and for them I do promise to administer this office constant in the obligation to do exact justice to every man without regard to race or politics, to class or condition; sealed with the oath that I have taken, this with them is my Covenant.

And may the Almighty Hand be upon this, His State, to order it and to uphold it with Judgment and with Righteousness henceforth, even forever.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

NOTE: How many of the Governor's recommendations voiced in his Inaugural Address became realities, history now records. The reduction of freight rates, the beginning of the building of a state-wide good roads system, and tax assessment reform are among the most notable. The Asheville Gazette-News of January 15th sums up the progressive program advocated, in the following editorial:

Ranking easily among the great State papers in style and in spirit, voicing the convictions, the yearnings, the ideals of a new time, yet with reverence of sacred memories and traditions, Hon. Locke Craig's address delivered today, on the occasion of his induction into the office of Governor of North Carolina, will be read, studied and preserved, by his friends and neighbors in the western section, heightening their especial pride in today's event, and by the people of the whole State. For he voices the hour; simply, eloquently, powerfully. The address is a finely wrought literary production. Some passages, in conformity with the theme, are pure poetry.

With the assurance of one who sees a pathway, the Governor says that one goal ahead is the abolition of the monumental tax of freight discrimination; it must end. The water powers should be controlled by the Corporation Commission. There should be an employer's liability law. The State's destiny depends upon the conditions of country life, since eighty per cent of our population is rural, and our betterment enterprises must conform to those conditions and be largely directed by them. Failure to provide for protection of the health of the children of the State and for their education the Governor names by its true name—it is a sin. He is emphatic on the subjects of the conservation of the public health, the work of women and children in factories, good roads building, a primary law. The climax of the address emphasizes the paramount necessity of tax assessment reform.

Like the preacher of the Gospel, the Governor's task has been to emphasize things already stated, to say old things in a new way, rather than to state new facts. He says of good roads that they enhance the value of every man and woman and child whose home they pass, and of every acre of land fronting upon them. What a magnificent task of conservation, of economy, is thus pictured.

No vast nor impossible scheme of legislation is outlined. It is presumed that Mr. Craig has made a program which he considers well within the limits of the present Legislature. Most progress is by compromise. If even a major portion of the things suggested in the address are done, the State will have made great progress and cleared the way to much greater. The Governor is of the opinion that there should be a reassessment of the property of the State before final adjournment. This will enable the people to see what the effect will be of a proper adjustment of taxation, before the tax is levied. Two years ago the budget was made up by guess.

OPENING OF THE GREAT STATE FAIR

(October, 1913)

NOTE: The Public Letters and Papers of Locke Craig, published at the close of his administration, give all his messages to the General Assembly, and official communications. It is not attempted here to repeat these, except the Inaugural Address and the final message to the General Assembly. The speeches that follow are selected from those made while he was Governor of the State.

North Carolina is buoyant with energy. Plenty is the reward of labor. Her cities teem with commerce and her fields are robed in harvest. Thrift and frugality are the inheritance of this generation that remembers the days of our adversity.

The State is victorious in industry. Amid the roar of the cataract and the throbbing of the steam engine, there rises the manifold song of multiplex wheel and spindle. We have today two hundred and ninety-four cotton mills, with more than three million spindles and more than fifty-eight thousand looms; ninety-one furniture factories, employing thousands of people, and sending the finished products of our forests to all civilized countries. All kinds of industries are prospering and adding to the wealth of the State.

Our mountain section is becoming a land of orchards. The apples wear the royal colors of their native hills, and are flavored by the aroma that is fragrant in the flowers. Their quality is unequaled. They take the first prizes at the world's expositions, and command a higher price than the oranges of the tropics.

In this land corn and wheat are more prolific than the harvests gathered in the realms of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. Our tobacco, peanuts, berries and cantaloupes are profitable to the producer and the most delicate luxuries wherever they are known.

The cattle of a thousand hills are ours. The fertile slopes of our mountains make pastures as rich as those that Abra-

ham looked upon when he turned his eyes to the plains of Mesopotamia.

Cotton is the commanding staple of all agriculture, and from this product alone North Carolina in 1912 realized more than sixty million dollars.

This Fair is the Annual Festival of Industry. For exhibition, here is brought the unblemished of every herd and the finest fruits of every section. The experience of each is the teacher of all. We are awakened to our powers and opportunities. The spirit of generous emulation is engendered and stimulates to higher hope and endeavor. We do not know what North Carolina can do; we do not know what we ourselves can do, until we see what has been done by superior energy and intelligence. This fair is a grand object lesson; an encouragement that arouses the manhood and the womanhood of the State to more determined effort. It is and has been a large factor in accomplishment and in progress. It is the list where the knights of useful achievement contend. The victors here are rewarded with a high consciousness that they are foremost in the peaceful contest for the welfare of mankind.

But the noblest exhibit of this Fair is not corn or cotton or fruit or cattle, but men and women. From the mountains and from the plains they have gathered—these sons and daughters of the State, sprung from the loins of a sturdy race, thoroughbred they are from Norman and Saxon sires. These constitute the State—her wealth and her glory. Like Cornelia, the mother of the Graccii, she points with pride to these as her jewels, and all industry, all achievement, all progress, all law and all government should have the supreme purpose of a more exalted ideal, a finer citizenship, the guarantee of justice, an equal opportunity to all the sons and daughters of this Commonwealth.

I have the faith that the State is entering upon a career of grander progress. We are inspired by a history of heroism in war and unfaltering courage in peace. We can reap in our strength the golden harvest from the fields that were sown in weakness. The men of the South, and the men of North

Carolina are now in the seats of power to restore the ideals of the Republic, to unfetter our industries, and guarantee opportunity to all of the people.

We see the coming of the day when privilege shall no longer plunder with impunity. We see, too, the coming of the day when justice shall be done in the transportation of commerce, when natural monopolies shall be subservient to the public welfare.

We are in the midst of an era when highways, the arteries of the body politic, shall carry the blessings of progress and civilization to every home in North Carolina. Inventive genius has employed the powers of men and revolutionized industry.

The day is coming when wealth and progress shall be the handmaid of enlightenment and humanity, when the State shall protect the weak, and offer to every child the hope of a higher life. Already there are in the State more than six hundred thousand children upon the rolls of the public schools.

NEEDS OF NORTH CAROLINA ALONG EDUCATIONAL LINES

(Roanoke Rapids, N. C., April, 1914)

Mr. W. L. Long introduced the Governor to the audience with a few brief but clever remarks. Mr. Long spoke of the duty of the community to educate its children, complimented the work of the Superintendent and Faculty of the Graded School and emphasized the fact that the growth and progress of this community had been such as to far exceed our present school facilities. He introduced Governor Craig as "North Carolina's most distinguished son; a man worthy in every way to succeed our beloved Aycock."

Governor Craig's speech was both humorous and pathetic; entertaining the audience every minute he was speaking. He referred humorously to his introduction by Mr. Long.

"I wish to thank my talented young friend for the handsome way in which he introduced me to this great audience. Of course I know I do not deserve to be presented in any such way, but I am obliged to him all the same. It makes me feel good to hear anybody talk about me that way, although I know it is not so. My folks in the mountains will come to the conclusion that I have gotten to be a different kind of a man since I have become Governor." He mentioned the fact that this was the first time that he had had the pleasure of speaking to an audience in their county. He mentioned the astonishing progress made by this community in such a brief while. "I could not have spoken here so very long ago, there was nothing here but peanuts and cotton and now there has been built here one of the great industrial centers of the State. I was astonished to see such an industrial center here.

"But industrial accomplishment is not the highest aim of men; to make money is not the highest aim of men. It is a great thing to make money. I wish I could make money. I do not condemn the man who makes money. It is a mag-

nificent thing to build railroads that stretch across a continent, to erect cotton mills and paper mills and vast manufacturing industries; to start in motion machinery; to start the song of the spindle and the clack of the loom.

"But that is not the highest thing in life. The object of all human endeavor, the highest aim of all human civilization, ought to be the culture of the individual man and woman. The greatest thing in this world is the building of men and women. If everything on this green footstool of Almighty God were for the sole purpose of making money, if that were the sole object, He would stamp it out of existence. The highest object of all human endeavor is the improvement of men and women, and it is the highest object of government. The highest object of government is not to build great battleships, to erect magnificent public buildings. The symbol of our government is not the rapid-fire machine gun, or the hangman's noose. I would rather compare the government under which I live to an old hen. I do not mean any jokes by comparing it to an old hen. It is one of the grandest symbols I know of. When our Saviour stood upon the Mount of Olives overlooking 'Jerusalem the Golden' he said: 'Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee. How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.'

"I would not typify this government by the sword, the hangman's noose or the policeman's billy, but I would have it a government for protection of the people and to lift up all the people to a higher plane and a nobler purpose in life. Liberty and Justice are but means to an end, and Liberty and Justice have as an end the betterment of every person that comes under their sway.

"That is the grandest republic which guarantees to every child in its borders the opportunity of attaining his highest possibilities. That community is governed by the noblest ideas, that community is striving for the highest and best in life, which guarantees to every child in its borders the possibilities of attaining to its highest ideals.

"Unless this community and this Government guarantee these possibilities, it is all a fraud and a humbug, and it is wrong!

"There are three main influences with a man or a woman; in the first place, the influence of heredity. We are apt to be somewhat like our parents are and to receive from them some of our characteristics. And then there is the influence upon human character of that thing which you call personal will. Every boy, girl, man or woman has within him a throne of power from which he can defy the decree of Almighty God. And then there is opportunity—the influence of environment, the influence of the circumstances in which we live, and I think that counts for more than all of the other influences put together.

"The intellectual and moral differences between men and women by nature are not more pronounced than their physical differences are. But take the most pure and beautiful woman in Roanoke Rapids and compare her with the lowest, most degraded woman in Roanoke Rapids. The difference between them is the difference between a demon and an archangel—as far as the East is from the West. Why this great difference? It does not exist by nature and ought not to exist at all. You say it does. Suppose you go to the poorest and worst kept home in this town and take from it an infant at the moment of birth. Suppose this child is exchanged for a rich child, unknown to anyone. Do you think that after life would ever reveal the horrible secret? Lady Clara Vere De Vere, with all her culture, grace and refinement, if she had been transposed at birth to a cradle of ignorance, vice and sin, do you suppose that the blood of an hundred earls would have made her the graceful, talented, Christian woman that she was?

"Circumstances, environment, opportunity, or the lack of these things, make up these differences between men and women. You might take the child of the wildest savage and put him in a Christian home, why he too would be 'the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time.' My friends, I claim that the greatest influence upon human character is opportunity.

"A boy or girl is like a wireless tower standing ready to receive messages of love, culture, hope—ready to receive power. Every child, every human being, wants the opportunity of that message. It wants its mind tuned for a higher, nobler and grander life.

"The great differences you see between men are only differences in the opportunities they have had. Every man, boy, or girl, ought to be taught to do that which he is best capable of doing. I had rather be a good hog feeder than a sorry preacher and sometimes a powerful good hog feeder is spoiled in making a poor preacher. Every man ought to be taught to do that which he can do the best. We cannot all be governors, spinners, or preachers, but there is a place for every one.

"You can take two acorns from the same tree, with the same possibilities, the same germ of life, the same energy for development. You can plant one in sterile soil and let it be choked by weeds. It will grow up into an ugly, knotty, scrubby oak. Take the other acorn and put it in good soil, give it sustenance, give it a chance to grow. It will grow into a great, widespreading monarch of the forest. It will wave its giant arms in defiance of the storm. If there is a great difference in what came from the two acorns, what must be the difference that develops between two human beings, because these human beings have no limitations? All possibilities are theirs. For them everything hopes. There is no limit to their development; no limit to the heights to which they may rise; no limit to their degradation to the lowest depths. When a community is dealing with its young, it is dealing with infinite possibilities."

Governor Craig then alluded to the coming bond election for the purpose of enlarging the educational facilities of the community.

"They tell me that the corporations of this District are going to pay eighty-five per cent of the taxes and the people of the District will only have to pay the other fifteen per cent. A man who would vote against that kind of a proposition would vote against the interests of his child.

"When I look at my boys, it seems to me that the highest and noblest thing that I can do is to give them the best opportunity in life. I know that if my boy is educated and your boy is not educated, I know that my boy grows like the mighty oak in fertile ground and your boy is fated to grow like the scrub oak. I know that one boy would occupy an exalted place in the world and the other boy must be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. If my boy has the chance and yours has not, it has got to be your boy and not mine.

"Of course you are going to vote those taxes. North Carolina is voting this tax everywhere for the benefit of the children of North Carolina. I hope that everyone of you will go to the polls and vote for the progress of your children.

"There are just as intelligent faces among the Roanoke Rapids boys and girls as you will find in the most fashionable community. They need but culture. The highest product of the human race is to be found in the modern, cultured American men and women. I believe the boys and girls here in Roanoke Rapids are capable of all culture and development. Unless this community does lift them up and point them to the very highest opportunity, this community is a failure.

"The corporations say if you will note this tax, we will pay eighty-five per cent and you are to pay fifteen per cent. They are willing to do this because their business will be worth more. Every human being in Roanoke Rapids will be worth more. It is a question of whether or not you want to educate your child.

"You should vote this tax and give all welcome to the great and glorious opportunity vouchsafed to your children. My friends, the responsibility is yours, the duty is yours, and I believe that every man will do his duty to himself and to his children and let his children take hold of the glorious opportunity offered them in this beautiful city on the banks of the Roanoke."

INTRODUCTION OF VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL AT CHARLOTTE

(May 20th, 1914)

NOTE: This occasion was the celebration in commemoration of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775.

Mr. McDowell, in presenting Governor Craig, recalled that at the great centennial celebration of 1875, the chief speaker, Governor Thomas Hendrix, of Indiana, was introduced by North Carolina's idol, Governor Zebulon B. Vance. "When these two luminous figures faced the audience they formed a picture never to be forgotten," said he, and added that it was highly appropriate for the guest of the day, a celebrated Indianian, to be introduced by "our own loved Governor Locke Craig."

There was an outburst of applause as the Governor arose. "Ladies and Gentlemen of Mecklenburg and all the other counties of North Carolina," said he. "If the men of Mecklenburg and surrounding counties of 139 years ago could revisit this city and witness the scenes that are being enacted here today, they would conclude that their descendants had kept at least one of the commandments, that they should multiply and replenish the earth. (Laughter.)

"North Carolina is gathered here today to celebrate the clear-sightedness and heroism of the pioneers of human freedom, or as the poem has put it, the vanguard of the Revolution. We come to acknowledge our obligation and to express our gratitude to the men and women who, though few in numbers as compared with us; 139 years ago, in defiance of the principalities and powers of earth, declared for the inalienable rights of all men. We come, my friends, today, and on the soil made sacred by their dust, and under the same skies beneath which they lived, and with the same Scotch-Irish blood coursing through our veins that burned in them, we come to renew our covenant to do our part with fidelity and

courage. We acknowledge our indebtedness for this heritage and realize that it is our responsibility to transmit it in its purity to the generations that are to follow us.

"It is appropriate that your orator today should come from the great Northwest, a section whose people, during the trying years of Reconstruction and the political contests that have come since, have had hearts that responded in sympathy and co-operation with Southern wrongs and Southern ideals.

"We have with us today a man, who, by grace of the grandest Republic that ever existed among men, has been exalted to the second eminence in all the world. (Applause.) He comes to us, not merely as a distinguished person, but he comes as the representative of ideals that have come back to the sovereign places in this Government. He represents an administration that stands for justice to all men, a vitalization of the principle for which the men of Mecklenburg strove; an administration that stands for peace with and among all the nations of earth but one which, with all the power of the greatest nation in the world, stands for war if war must come. (Applause.)

"The men of Mecklenburg 139 years ago planted here the seed of a mighty tree. It has grown up into the magnificent city of Charlotte. The vanguard of the Revolution, it has always maintained its position of leadership. I welcome you, sir, to the largest and most important city in North Carolina; in commerce and in spirit and in progress, the largest city on this hemisphere. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the great honor to present to you the Vice-President of the United States."

MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA AND ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR CRAIG

(May 29th, 1914)

NOTE: The account of this meeting was taken from The Raleigh News and Observer of May 31st.

When the Scottish Society of America celebrated its fifth time in Fayetteville, Thursday, Governor Locke Craig wore plaid, spoke, and was the most delighted Scotchman in the crowd.

Governor Craig took his staff with him and while the "God-Blessed Macs" were dressed up, the State of North Carolina was putting on some airs also. The Governor's party attracted the big attention. The Scotch had seen the Macs, their clothes and their ornamentals, but they had not seen real regimentals since Sherman went through fifty years ago and raised a little of the stuff that he said war is. He paid Fayetteville a delightful visit and helped himself to the good rations of that town.

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Governor Craig began his speech with a story that brought the crowd to great laughter. He said that while he and his staff were sitting in their automobile waiting for the parade to begin, a crowd of boys came out and looked at them.

General Laurence W. Young was the man whom they surveyed. The General had on his military best. The boys looked him over too awed to talk. But there was one brave fellow and he personified the sentiment of the others. Looking at the Colonel, the youngster said: "There is one man what shore is dressed up!"

"They are a people that never crouched in bondage. It was the red-headed Scotchman, Galgarcus, according to Tacitus, that hurled at the crushing destiny of Roman power his

last defiance, at the foot-hills of Scotland, that is perpetuated in the oratory of our day:

" 'You plunder our homes, and violate our women, and call that civilization; you make the land a desolation, and call that peace.' They died before the legions of Caesar, but not a man surrendered. It was the same inspiration in the young piper of the Seventy-Fifth Highland Regiment at Waterloo. He sat on a drum, playing the airs of Scotland while his comrades were annihilated around him. They died remembering Ben Lothian, like the Greeks remembering Argos. The music of the bag-pipe did not stop until the piper was dead.

"Wherever English-speaking armies have marched, and the conclusions of battle have been tried, whether on the Heights of Abraham, or on the Heights of Gettysburg, or the Moor of Culloden, there Scotchmen have fought and fallen among the foremost. Their free-born spirit, their knightly character and their courage are the themes of romance and chivalry.

"Not only in war, but in the thoughts that shake mankind, they have maintained their primacy. That small land has produced thinkers and philosophers and orators equalled only by ancient Athens. A land of poor soil, and rugged mountains, it has been worth more to the world than the vast empires of the Czars and the Manchus.

"The most powerful thinker of modern times is the Scotchman, Thomas Carlyle. With the exception of Shakespeare, the crowning glory of English Literature. He is one of the forces of the ages. He is a seer who beheld the apocalypse of nature, a prophet who called men back to the eternal verities. Sometimes he rings the Angelus bells, and then in the twilight, over peaceful meadow and golden field, we hear the tones of everlasting love and forgiveness; sometimes he sounds the blast of the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, and in the tempest amid the tumult of the thunders from blackness, the wrath of God is poured out in fire.

"The songs of Robert Burns have interpreted the thoughts of love wherever lovers have wooed, and in all lands wherever the bonds of friendship bind men together, they sing:

"Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind;
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And days of auld lang syne."

"The hard-headed Scotchman stood for self-government in Scotland. He has stood for self-government everywhere. In 1775 he stood for self-government in North Carolina. With the resolute daring of his ancestors he defied the power of the British Empire."

Governor Craig then showed how the Scotchmen have been leaders of political thought, and how their spirit of independence had formulated the ideals of democracy, that are potential in the Republic today.

In speaking of the part which Flora MacDonald played in connection with Prince Charlie, Governor Craig somewhat took issue with Dr. MacDonald. He said that he thought that Charles Edward was unworthy of the devotion and heroism of the MacDonalds, that the Scotch people were finer than the Stuart Dynasty.

He compared the determination of the people of the South and the tenacity with which they held to their ideals of government, to the loyalty of the Scotch for the principles which had always made Scotland a free and unconquerable country. There was a great cheering when he said that in the hour of her greatest travail and darkness, the people of the State were inspired and led by the Scotchman, Zeb. Vance. He told how in the time of trial in North Carolina, when our civilization was threatened, the lion of the Tribe of Democracy stood upon the portico of the National Hotel in Raleigh, and with a voice that sounded like a trumpet from one end of North Carolina to the other, said that it ought to be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for those enemies of the State in North Carolina.

THE LEGACY OF THE CONFEDERACY

Accepting The Monument To The Women Of The Confederacy On The Occasion Of The Unveiling At Raleigh, North Carolina, June 10th, 1914.

NOTE: This speech was re-printed many times by special request, and has received more commendation perhaps than any speech ever delivered by Governor Locke Craig.

The State accepts this monument with grateful appreciation. It is the tribute of a knightly soldier to the Women of the Confederacy.

The statue is epic: Arms and the Man. Its theme is heroism and devotion; the inheritance of the children of the South. The bronze group represents the grandmother unrolling to the eager youth, grasping the sword of his father, the scroll of the father's deeds. The bronze etchings on the faces of the pedestal suggest the outlines of her story. To the earnest beholder the statue is illumined with unfolding meaning. His vision will determine its revelation.

As we look upon it, there rises out of the past a time when the spirit of war moved upon the depths of human thought, and summoned the elemental forces to titanic strife. We feel the throes of the mighty upheaval. The heavens are black with tempests, and ominous with the voices of ancient war and unutterable woe. We see "the marshaling in arms, and battle's magnificently stern array." Lovers say good-bye with tokens of plighted troth; the young mother and the father in uniform, kneel together, weeping over the cradle of their new born babe; there are tears and everlasting farewells; the cavalcades are filing off; the tramp of innumerable armies is heard. In secret the mother—this Woman of the Confederacy—prays and weeps with breaking heart for the boy who marches away to the wild, grand music of the bugles.

We hear the din of martial hosts, and squadrons galloping in the storm. They rush to the onset amid the rattle of musketry and thunders of field artillery. They defy carnage and death; they are torn by bursting shells, they are pierced

by bullets and cut with steel; they stagger and fall on the bloody ground; the resolute survivors close in and press on. In the crash of doom the gray line stands, despising hunger and pain and death. Before the numberless battalions they are Vikings in the hour of despair. They feel the pulsations of the unconquerable hearts that beat at home. At home alone, the wives and mothers, these Women of the Confederacy, in patience and suffering, are listening for the coming of those who will never return—will never return, but march on forever in the militant hosts of the heroic of all kindred and nations, that have redeemed and glorified the world.

We dedicate this monument as a symbol of our veneration. We dedicate this monument as a covenant that we too, in blessed remembrance of them, shall strive for fidelity and courage.

In unfaltering obedience Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac. For this, "the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of Heaven and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

The Women of the Confederacy, in supreme consecration, did lay upon the altar of Dixie their first born, the fairest and the bravest of the world. And because they did this thing, we too are the Children of the Covenant. The promise to Abraham was not alone for the seed of Abraham. It is the universal decree, divinely beautiful and divinely terrible. It is the law of development for all the children of men. Everlasting faith is a well of strength springing up into everlasting life.

Had the men and the women of the South been recreant, had they shrunk from the sacrifice of war, their children today would be the disinherited heirs of the promise, a dishonored and a degenerate people.

In the onward march of the race, these world conflicts must come. That people survives, gathers strength, becomes puissant in human destiny that has the faith and the courage for the supreme issue. The immediate result is not the final judgment. Who won at Thermopylae, the Persians or the Spartans? Who was victorious at the Alamo, Santa Anna or Travis? Who triumphed, Socrates or his judges; Jesus or Pontius Pilate?

The glory of France is the Old Guard at Waterloo. The noblest feelings of the English heart are stirred by the Light Brigade charging to death at Balaklava. Lexington and Guilford Court House are as dear to us as Trenton and Yorktown.

Disaster does not always destroy. The winds may blow; the rains may descend; houses and lands may be swept away; but God has placed His bow in the heavens as a promise that the storm shall cease, and the waters subside; the scorching drouth may wither the fields, untimely frost may kill our corn and fruit; yet in the procession of the seasons, the rain and sunshine will again clothe hill and mead in verdure, and harvest fields will wave in golden plenty. Armies may be destroyed, "Far called, our navies melt away"; yet from a land consecrated by the blood of the brave, from a soil enriched by glorious tradition, tried and purified by fire, a nobler, stronger race will come. But over the waste of moral desolation, there comes no rejuvenating spring. Upon a land blighted by the cowardice of those who should defend it, there is the judgment of decay and death.

The heroic past is our priceless inheritance. Our armies were destroyed; our land was smitten by war; our homes were ravaged by avenging armies. We were plundered by the hordes of reconstruction. But standing in this land that has suffered, amid this throng of gray-haired veterans, and their kindred and descendants, I declare that the legacy of the war is our richest possession. I utter the sentiments of every maimed soldier; of every soldier who gave the best of his young life to "the storm-cradled nation that fell," of every bereaved widow and mother; and if I could speak for the

dead, I would utter the sentiment of the forty thousand sons of the State who fell upon fields of battle, when I declare that they would not revoke that sacrifice.

Some of you can remember when the young soldier was brought home dead, when the maiden was clothed in her first sorrow, and the old gray head was bowed in the last grief. The mothers of the South had sent their sons to the front as the Spartan mother when she delivered the shield to her son with the command: "Return with it, or upon it." They wept in silent desolation, but in their grief there was exaltation, for they knew that their sons had done a soldier's part, that in the tumult of historic days they had fought and fallen beneath the advancing flag; that in strange lands, wounded and neglected, they had suffered without complaint, and bequeathing a message for home, had died, as conquerors, without a murmur.

> "While one kissed a ringlet of thin gray hair,
> And one kissed a lock of brown."

Hail to you, Women of the Confederacy, that bore them and nurtured them, and offered them for sacrifice! In you and in your descendants is vouchsafed the promise to Abraham: Henceforth all generations shall call you blessed.

From the shadow of war we sweep into the grander day. The earth is hallowed because it is the sepulcher of the brave; not men whose victories have been inscribed upon triumphal columns, but men whose memorial is, that in courage and loyalty for conviction, they were steadfast unto death; men who have been stoned and scourged, and quailed not before the mighty. "Their heroic sufferings rise up melodiously together to Heaven out of all lands and out of all times, as a sacred Miserere; their heroic actions as a boundless everlasting Psalm of Triumph." They are the conquerors. The South has forever a part in that chorus of victory.

OPPORTUNITIES TO THE STATE AND NATION THROUGH TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

(Winston-Salem, October 20, 1914)

NOTE: The account of this speech is from The Winston-Salem Journal.

Before an audience numbering fully 1,000 people, Governor Locke Craig, of North Carolina, last night delivered at the courthouse one of the most superb addresses ever heard in Winston-Salem. While primarily a political address, at times the speaker forgot all political parties in his vision of the ultimate grandeur of the American Nation, the magnificent destiny that awaits North Carolina, and the potential factor that the Nation is destined to become.

The speaker paid a glowing tribute to the splendid satesmanship of Woodrow Wilson; graphically described the inate tendency of mankind to seek for the highest and the best, and showed how the broad-minded policies of Democracy have played an important part in enabling mankind more readily to approach his ideals; spoke beautifully of the great strides that this Nation has made, and its ever-increasing importance in the commercial world, and also along those lines that look to soul-culture.

He told of weakness of Republican policies; spoke of the Forsyth County Democratic candidates in terms of highest praise; looked upon the magnificent strides in the building of good roads in the State with great pleasure; longed for the day when the comforts and conveniences of the city may be seen on the farms in the State; and likened the great progress that North Carolina is making now to the beautiful flight of an eagle soaring skyward, its vision of glory and grandeur constantly becoming greater and greater.

Governor Craig preluded his address with reference to the words of introduction by Editor Santford Martin, of The Journal, stating that it was the second time he had been

introduced by his talented friend. "He made fine speeches both times," said the Governor. "I wish he would keep on speaking all night. I thank him for his words of eulogy and I wish that I were worthy of the encomiums of praise that he has placed upon me. I thank him for it the more because I know they spring from a generous heart and from loyal friendship."

Governor Craig referred to the elections in the State every two years, when numerous speeches are made; and the problems before the people are closely considered. It is in the elections that the problems of the Nation are solved. He characterized the United States as the greatest country in the world; there is no other country in the world like it. One can get on a train in the East and travel westward for 3,000 miles and everywhere he stops he will see people like himself, speaking the same language, inspired by the same ideals, and having about the same religion. Whether the people come from Norway, Sweden, Germany or from elsewhere they soon become part and parcel of this great Government.

Following his tribute to the greatness of the American Nation, Governor Craig, likewise, paid a glowing tribute to the American people. He characterided them as being the most industrious people in the world, the most intelligent, the best educated, the hardest working. Through the genius of the American people, more has been accomplished in an economic way in the past century than ever before.

Man, he declared, is a progressive animal. He is not content with the real but conceives of an ideal and promptly sets about to realize it. He pictured primeval man with all his crudeness, striving through the centuries to better his conditions. In matchless flow of eloquence he pictured mankind on his upward march, through the early stages of his development, his early methods of transportation.

From the scanty desires that first took possession of the human heart, he pictured the growth of culture and refinement; from the crude early days and desires to the time when man began to build palaces and to strive for those things for which the soul aspires.

And today, humanity's commerce is carried on everywhere. Man has harnessed steam and electricity, drives them like an ox, and forces them to do his bidding. And they create wealth for him and serve him as an errand boy. America is the foremost Nation in this great march of progress.

After graphically picturing the rise of the individual in this great Republic, the speaker attacked the Republican Party's use of power in the government in years gone by; told how they pursued the policy of enriching a few people at the expense of the many. Showed how the national Republican policies had a tendency to aid the few, how it was opposed to the great principle of equal justice for all, the keynote of Democracy's appeal. He told of how the tyranny of the Republican rule caused many Republicans to revolt, finally resulting in the election of Woodrow Wilson. He pictured the demise of the Republican Party, declaring that only one well organized party now exists in the Nation—the Democratic Party.

He told of a colored minister who sometimes got mixed in his Scripture who was telling his congregation about Jezebel. He declared that the minister said that while Paul was preaching in Ephesus that Jezebel fell from the temple and was broken into a thousand pieces; that the dogs came and licked her sores, and that of the fragments twelve baskets full were gathered up! He applied the illustration to the Republican Party but saw no resurrection for it.

He pictured the great opportunities offered for advancement along all lines with the advent of Democratic principles. The decks are cleared for action, he said, and politically speaking, the Democratic Party is the "Old Ship of Zion." He paid a glowing tribute to the men who through forty years of adversity have clung to the Democratic faith, knowing it to be the party that is right and that it could not be destroyed.

He declared that a certain Progressive has characterized the Republican Party as "a rotten hulk, loaded with plunder, with lead for its sails, filled with the wrath of God, and having Hell as its nearest port." He told of another charge that it was in league with the invisible empire of greed at the ex-

pense of the people. He said that all these years the Republican ship has been a pirate ship, preying upon the great mass of the people of the country. But, he declared, Woodrow Wilson has driven the pirate from the high seas. The machinery of government has been returned to the people where it belongs. No longer is $10.00 paid into the public treasury while hundreds are poured into the coffers of the immensely rich.

In eloquent words, Governor Craig told of how Woodrow Wilson has brought about a great change in heretofore existing conditions; how the vast tax on the people at large for the benefit of the wealthy has been removed, and the enormous incomes of the wealthy have been taxed to help bear the burdens of administering the affairs of the Nation. The almost inconceivable tribute that has heretofore been levied on the common people has been removed. He told of the new tariff law; how the Government has been restored again to the people, and taken from the hands of organized greed.

Governor Craig declared that the financial center of the Government is now no longer in Wall Street but in the Federal Treasury, how no panics can occur now through scarcity of money.

The speaker said that some Republicans say that the Democratic Party is responsible for the low price of cotton. He declared that if that is true that the Republican administration is responsible for hookworm and pallagra, as they broke out during a Republican administration.

Interestingly, the speaker told of the international law of commerce upon which the price of cotton is based; upon the world's visible supply and the demand. He showed how only something over one-third of the crop is consumed in this country, and the remainder is exported to those European Nations now engaged in war. Cotton is not low, he explained, but the coming on of the war stopped the demand for it. He showed how at the beginning of the present year that cotton was selling for fourteen cents, but the great conflict had its result. However, he stated that cotton has sold low before, for instance under McKinley's administration in 1898 when

it brought four cents. Likewise during the latter part of Taft's administration it sold for eight cents.

The speaker explained why the cotton crop cannot be sent to Europe now. The channels of trade have been stopped. But Governor Craig expressed the hope that the same fine diplomacy of Wilson in avoiding a conflict with Mexico would devise some way in which to get cotton to Europe, and thus relieve the cotton planters of the Southern States.

In the great misfortune that has overtaken the Southern farmers by the lack of a market for the surplus cotton raised, the speaker declared that he is glad that there are men in power at the White House today whose sympathies are with the common people and not with organized wealth. That the men in Washington are busying themselves in every way possible to help the farmers in whom they are deeply interested. He referred to the splendid efforts of Secretary McAdoo to meet the many difficult calls made upon his ability.

In the restoration of the affairs of government to the people, Governor Craig told of the splendid part the South has played. He referred to the devotion of the South to the cause of Democracy through many years, how its people remained true to the principles of the party without deviation, although the Republicans asked them to come over to their side and share in the fruits of Republican victory in the Nation.

He told of the constant struggle of the South to bring Democratic principles to victory again, and how against great odds the people always stood solidly for the party and its principles which are immortal. And he told of how finally it came to pass that a man born in Virginia and educated in North Carolina was elected as President; and how he has come to formulate laws that guarantee justice and equal opportunities to all men.

Governor Craig likened the Democratic Party to Sir Isaac Newton, and the Republican Party to his dog. An apple fell from a tree and the mind of Newton thereby discovered the law of gravity; while the dog only saw the apple fall from the tree. The mind of man is not satisfied with anything short of the infinite. Democracy believes in the everlasting

progress of humanity. Democracy believes in the universal equality of men. In the difference in men, the speaker only saw a difference in environment; in opportunity. He told of the ugly woman Sam Jones saw. The woman's husband resented the way in which the famous evangelist looked at her for she had a reputation for her ugliness. He saw Jones after the service and said, "Look here, Mr. Jones, I want you to know that my wife is the most beautiful woman in the world. Beauty is only skin deep." And Jones replied, "Well, for heaven's sake skin her."

The speaker took the opportunity offered to briefly discuss the proposed constitutional amendments. He spoke especially of the amendment relating to taxation. He said that there is no effort to increase taxes; but that it is desired to give the Legislature power to segregate taxes; so that property may be taxed for county taxes; and railroads and corporations taxed to support the State.

He declared that the land values are too low; that they will continue to be as long as the present system of taxation obtains. He declared that there are men who hide their solvent credits, that it is a universal custom in the State; that the system now is responsible for it.

Likewise, the speaker wanted the counties to transact their business at home without carrying purely local matters to the State Legislature. He would also strike out the word "rebellion" from the Constitution of the State.

Governor Craig referred to the magnificent progress that the State is making in the building of good roads; he declared that by the time his term of office is completed that every county in North Carolina will have a great system of good roads. He spoke of the splendid work that Mr. P. H. Hanes, of this city, has done for the cause of good roads; how the disposition of the people of Forsyth County to help themselves in the matter of building good roads led to his interest in having a part of the government good road appropriation spent in Forsyth County.

He declared that good roads are great civilizing factors; that they will paint school houses, build fine churches, place

music in the rural homes, make better and happier women and children on the farms. He rejoiced in the rapid growth of the cities of the State but desired to see greater improvements on the farms of the State; conveniences for women on the farms to make their burdens lighter. In a prophetic manner, the speaker pictured the North Carolina of the future when the farms of the land will blossom as a rose of a thousand leaves, and everything possible will be done for the comfort and convenience of the women in the rural sections of the State. He pictured it as an era of sanitation, convenience, and happiness and for the people on the farms of the State.

Likewise, Governor Craig spoke of the Forsyth County Democratic ticket. He declared Hon. H. G. Chatham, the Democratic candidate for the State Senate, to be a tried and proven knight of Democracy. He characterized him as coming from a race of men who have always done their utmost to build up North Carolina in every way possible; as a man who will falter at no time in his duty; and as a man who will represent poor men and rich men in the same way. "He is the friend of all men," declared the speaker. "He believes in equal rights and equal justice to all."

He also declared that the Democratic candidates for the Legislature, as well as all the other Democratic candidates, are men eminently fitted to serve the great people of Forsyth County.

Governor Craig concluded his address with a beautiful word picture. He told how he was standing on Mount Mitchell. That he saw an eagle rise in the billowy clouds. On and on, higher and higher it mounted into the skies, brushing away the billows here and there, soaring upward until at length its royal plumage was bathed in the grandeur of the sun's rays as it looked out upon the entrancing scene. That, said the Governor, is the way North Carolina is climbing now, its part in the development of the Nation is becoming grander and grander, and the future is most encouraging.

Introduced By Mr. Martin

After making some announcements relative to some Demo-

cratic speakings in the county, Chairman Gilbert T. Stephenson, of the Forsyth County Democratic Executive Committee, introduced Mr. Santford Martin, Editor of The Winston-Salem Journal, and he introduced the distinguished speaker in a brief, but eloquent manner.

Mr. Martin referred in an interesting manner to the great achievements of the Democratic Party in the Nation; of the matchless leadership of Woodrow Wilson; and of the splendid stand that North Carolinians have taken in the halls of Congress.

Likewise he told of the splendid progress in North Carolina; and he asserted that Governor Locke Craig's administration means as much to North Carolina as Wilson's does to the United States. He said that Governor Craig's administration has been characterized by constructive achievement—notably his magnificent work for the State in the solution of the freight rate matter without having the matter entangled in long and tedious litigation. Also under his administration, the ten proposed amendments, the adoption of which will enable the State to grow properly, have been put forward.

Mr. Martin told of the Governor's faithful attention to duties; that not a single charge has been lodged against him.

ACCEPTING THE BUST OF JUDGE WILLIAM GASTON

(November 24th, 1914)

We have listened with delight and profit to the scholarly, masterful and sympathetic portrayal of the character of William Gaston. We have heard the elegant and graceful presentation of the marble bust.

The State accepts this statue, and with gratitude to the Bar Association of North Carolina. It will be placed in one of the halls of the Supreme Court Building, there to dwell through the coming centuries with the portraits and the statues of those who have ennobled the State, and contributed to the strength and glory of the English-speaking race.

William Gaston has of right a place in this Pantheon of our great men—primus inter pares. His profound mind was enlarged and adorned by the erudition of the student, and the culture of the man of letters. As orator, statesman and judge, he was among the very foremost, and devoted all of his splendid gifts and attainments to the service of his country, and to the service of men. He belonged to the first order of nobility, and ever maintained his ideals and his character in exalted purity. He set the highest standard for private place and for public office. He gave a tone to the life of the State in the time of her youth that vitalizes and strengthens her now, and in the future. North Carolina will ever remember and cherish him, for he is to us an inheritance more precious than wealth or rich gifts, or princely endowments.

The men and the women of this and other generations, who aspire to higher things, will look upon this statue to remember, to admire, and to emulate his life.

ACCEPTING THE STATUE OF CHIEF JUSTICE RUFFIN

(February 1st, 1915)

We have listened with pleasure and profit to the fitting and eloquent tributes pronounced upon Judge Ruffin.

It has been the duty of the State to erect a statue to our pre-eminent jurist. We accept this splendid statue with gratitude to those who gave it. In just recognition of the character and the intellect of the great Chief Justice, we will place it in the entrance hall of this building, the place for the memorials of the highest and the noblest of our men in all generations. There it will live through the centuries typifying in majestic form the majestic man of pure purpose and master mind. In the plastic years of our history he gave form and order to our jurisprudence. He interpreted statutes and constitutions with the wisdom of the sages, and delivered judgments that are enduring precedents of righteousness. He was our judge, a distinctive product of North Carolina, but his influence is beyond the limitations of the State and the Nation. He is recognized everywhere as one of the greatest judges that our race has produced. In the uttermost parts of the earth, where the English jurisprudence exercises its beneficent rule, he speaks and will speak to legislatures, to courts, and to executives, directing and enlightening them in the way of truth and in the conception and the administration of justice.

We raise the statue in gratitude that the Old North State, too, has produced a judge that gives laws to the judges of the earth. We raise the statue to teach to us and to our children the power and the majesty of an exalted life.

ACCEPTING THE BUST OF JUDGE W. P. BYNUM

(April 12th, 1915)

With gratitude North Carolina accepts from the Bar Association this statue of William Preston Bynum. It shall be placed in this our Pantheon with the statues of our foremost and noblest men.

He established his title to this high place by intellect and character. Through a long and eventful career, he performed his task with fidelity and courage; in peace and in war; in public and in private life. His broad sympathies were expressed in acts of kindness and in generous munificence. His obligations to society were discharged by stern and truthful maintenance of his own convictions.

As a Supreme Court Judge he ranks with the masters of our jurisprudence and the builders of the English Law. His opinions are the clear and virile expressions of the just and robust heart and mind.

The most conspicuous part of his life was through the stormy and intolerant period that followed the war. Judge Bynum was not in accord with the convictions of the State, but with the determination and force of his race he was steadfast to his own convictions. Through this time of bitterness and strife, he never forgot that he was a citizen and a patriot, inspired by the sentiments and traditions of his State, true to the highest allegiance of his land and people. The exalted estimate accorded him at all times is the finest tribute to him and to the just judgment of the people of North Carolina.

We erect to him this memorial in marble to dwell here through the generations, that men may look upon it to admire and to emulate his virtues.

INAUGURATION OF EDWARD KIDDER GRAHAM AS PRESIDENT OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY

(Chapel Hill, April 21st, 1915)

This assemblage is worthy of its purpose. Great seats of learning in near and distant States have sent their Presidents with messages of cheer and wisdom. Scholars who cultivate ideals, and statesmen who construct policies of government have come. From field and factory and busy mart, representative men and women who build and support the State have gathered today. We are grateful that you are here. We feel the encouragement and sustaining power of your presence. We realize, too, that throughout our Commonwealth the pulsations of an earnest people beat in sympathy with us.

We come to dedicate a man to his work. It demands the energy of his life always steafast to the high obligation that he assumes. The task calls for the noblest, for it is the keeping and the development of this institution sanctified by tradition, potential for infinite good.

On this day of the inauguration of the new President, by simple ceremonial we devote anew this University to the service of men, and in this time of militant altruism significant of human destiny, with victorious assurance we give the forward order. We raise him to this exalted place because he is worthy of our past, equal to the opportunities of the future, and because he will lay upon the altar of this his alma mater, a priceless sacrifice, essential in every scheme for the redemption of men: a pure and earnest life.

This place is endeared to us by precious memories. The finest spirit of the past is perpetuated here and ever evolves unto higher and broader meaning. Through all our generations, this University has been to us a well of strength springing up into perennial life. She enlarges her efforts with larger opportunities and with faith and courage welcomes increasing responsibilities.

In the age of "the steamship and the railway, the thoughts that shake mankind," this is no academy of the cloister, nor the voice for every wind of doctrine. This University has been and will be the exponent of the State's power, the dynamics of the State's life. Amid the strife and confusion of our aggressive democracy she shall be vitalized by the currents that flow from humanity, and in full sympathy strike the clear note for higher aspiration and nobler achievement. Sustained by all the people, owing allegiance to no man, and to naught but God's truth, she can declare with authority the creed of enduring progress. Reaching to all classes, and conditions she shall gather unto her bosom the robust sons of the State to send them forth as ministers of a splendid destiny, "With power in this dark land to lighten it, and power on this dead world to make it live."

The man and the hour have met. We are opening a new chapter in the history of the University of North Carolina.

COMMUTATION OF THE SENTENCE OF IDA BALL WARREN

(March, 1916)

NOTE: The only woman ever sentenced in North Carolina to the electric chair was Ida Ball Warren, of Forsyth County, who was convicted of first degree murder in the killing of her husband, in which crime she had been assisted by her lover, Samuel P. Christy. Their prayer for commutation of the death sentence to life imprisonment came before Governor Craig. There was much feeling at the time over the enormity of the crime committed, and the Governor was urged on all sides to mete out to this murderess the same justice that a man would receive, and to allow her to pay for her sin by going to the death chair. On the other hand, there were some who chivalrously contended for her womanhood. All were anxiously awaiting the action of the Governor, believing that it would establish a precedent in regard to women criminals in North Carolina. Finally he gave his decision, using his mighty power as the State's Chief Executive, and stepped between this wretched woman, and the death sentence which she had admittedly incurred. His reasons are given here below, and are an eloquent tribute to all womanhood:

Granting the commutation, Governor Craig made the following statement concerning his action:

"The people of North Carolina in their constitution declare, 'The Governor shall have power to grant reprives, commutations and pardons after conviction for all offenses (except in the case of impeachment) upon such conditions as he may think proper and subject to such regulations as may be provided by law relative to the manner of applying for pardons.' The power to pardon or to commute thus conferred upon the Governor has no limitation but his own conception of duty. It is the highest and most sacred trust vested by law. It must be exercised in humane regard for the condemned and for the rights and welfare of society.

"When a petition for pardon or commutation is placed before the Governor he must act. He cannot avoid the responsibility. His action is in the orderly process of the administration of justice, provided in the Constitution. His judgment is the final decree of the people and the law pronounced by the ultimate tribunal.

"There is no escape from the conclusion that this woman, Ida Ball Warren, is guilty of murder, deliberate and premeditated, conceived and executed in determined wickedness. The verdict of the jury is fully sustained by the evidence; the sentence of the court is fixed by the statute.

"But, as the Governor of the State of North Carolina, it is not my judgment that the majesty of the law demands that this woman shall be put to death. I cannot contemplate with approval that this woman, unworthy and blackened by sin though she be, shall be shrouded in the cerements of death, dragged along the fatal corridor and bound in the chair of death. The spy has in all countries been punished by death. Germany executed the woman spy; England did not. The action of the Military Governor of Belgium was condemned by the conscience of the world.

"The killing of this woman would send a shiver through North Carolina. Humanity does not apply to woman the inexonorable law that it does to man. This may arise from misconceived sentimentality; it may arise from the deep and holy instincts of the race.

"The participation of Christy in this murder makes more difficult the question presented to me. He, too, is guilty. He bought the chloroform with which she drugged her husband. Either Christy, or Stonestreet, her son-in-law, twisted a cord tightly around the husband's neck to make sure that he could never awake from the deadly sleep. The body was placed in a trunk, Christy and Stonestreet hauled it away and threw it, weighted with irons, into a deep hole in Muddy Creek. The woman conceived the design and was the directing and dominating personality of this tragedy. Since life has been spared to her, Christy, too, must escape death.

"This action is in accord with my conception of the just and humane administration of the law. It is recommended by many of our strongest, wisest and best people. Many good men do not approve of any commutation of the judgment of the court. The responsibility of the decision rests with me."

LOCKE CRAIG JR.

INTRODUCING PRESIDENT WILSON AT CHARLOTTE

The Anniversary Of The Signing Of The Mecklenburg Declaration Of Independence.

(May 20th, 1916)

"My fellow-citizens of the State of Mecklenburg," said Governor Craig, "I wish to assure our honored guest today that he has never come to a State, or spoken to a people more loyal to him and the great work he has done and the great cause for which he stands than this. I have the honor, my fellow-countrymen of North Carolina and South Carolina and the region round about, to present you to the President of the United States!"

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

A. & T. College (Colored) Greensboro, North Carolina, May 26th, 1916

Our government and liberty should guarantee to all our people the possibilities to attain to the highest and best that is in them, and unless it does this it is a mockery and a fraud and an insult in the face of God, said the Hon. Governor Locke Craig in addressing a great throng assembled to witness the graduating exercises of the Agricultural and Technical College, of this city, this morning. The greatest commencement exercises in the history of the school were brought to a close by the awarding of the diplomas and certificates to the graduates by Prof. M. C. S. Noble, Head of the Department of Pedagogy at the University of North Carolina and Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the A. & T. College.

Governor Craig took occasion to state in his opening remarks: "I have been beseiged by so many requests to speak at commencement exercises at different points in the State

that I have found it exceedingly difficult to attempt to even fill a few of the invitations. However, I resolved to attend this commencement exercise because I had been deprived of the privilege so many times of attending and because of my personal acquaintance and admiration for your President, Dr. James B. Dudley, and I wish to congratulate the people of North Carolina upon having a man like Dr. Dudley who is admired for his ability and leadership everywhere.

"We are living in the greatest age of all history. We have done more during the past generation than all other generations put together. We have accumulated great masses of wealth and built mansions and laid railroads and dug canals and built macadamized roads and what are we going to do with all this wealth? We all enjoy money but this is not the ultimate end in life. Government itself is only a means to an end. We glory in our government and its flag but this is not the end of society. Liberty itself is only meant for an end. That end is to guarantee to each the privilege to attain to his highest possibilities and unless our government means this it means nothing; unless it means this, it is a mockery and a fraud and an insult in the face of God.

"If you contemplate man, one fact is most prominent; the moral and intellectual difference in men. If you consider the worst man with the best man, the difference is as great as the east is from the west or a demon from an archangel. Three things make up life; blood, will power and environment. Take one of these boys and give him a chance and encouragement and let him know what he can do for society and he will be better than those who have been left behind him."

Speaking further, Mr. Craig said: "I regret very much to have to go before hearing all of this program, but I do not believe that the beautiful and grand of our Southern life can be more adequately expressed than in those old melodies you have so well sung just now. No wonder you get religion when you hear these songs sung at campmeetings and revivals. We all would."

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

At The Closing Exercises Of The North Carolina School For The Deaf, June 1, 1916

(From The News-Herald, Morganton)

Hon. Locke Craig, Governor of North Carolina, was at his best in an address which he delivered at the Deaf School yesterday morning. The large auditorium was filled with the teachers and older pupils of the school and numbers of admiring friends from the town.

The Governor was introduced in a most pleasing and eloquent manner by Rev. J. O. Atkinson, of Elon College, President of the Board of Trustees of the School.

This occasion, Governor Craig stated, was his first visit to the school since he became Governor. He has been very much impressed with the wonderful results that are being accomplished in the work of educating the deaf. He said that Morganton, already renowned for the high type of her citizenship, had been placed on the map by the location of two of the State's splendid institutions here.

With warm words of praise for the fine bearing and military precision of the deaf cadets from Morganton in the parade in Charlotte on May 20th, Mr. Craig said that he had been proud on that day to tell the wife of the President who the boys were.

The Governor grew eloquent as he spoke on the objects of human endeavor. He said that the making of money is all right, but should not be the aim of our efforts. It is not so much the attainment of power that counts (and money represents power) as what we are going to do with that power. Even liberty and justice, which are idealized, are only means to an end and that end is to lift up every human being, and to give all equal opportunities. That government is the finest government, that State the best State which comes nearest to accomplishing this end; that flag means the most, which

waves over the land where the fortunate and unfortunate are alike given the opportunity to develop the highest and noblest instincts with which the Creator has endowed them. It is North Carolina's privilege and opportunity to enable all her sons and daughters to have an equal chance.

The Governor stated that environment and training play a much greater part in the individual life than inheritance. The difference between us physically is not so great. The State reaches its highest attainment when it gives to all alike the opportunity to attain to their highest possibilities.

He said that when in one of the classrooms in the school he saw, just before his address, a girl reproduce from memory on the blackboard a long narrative her teacher had just finished telling, he thought that she had gained more in intellect than she had lost in hearing. The loss of hearing or of any of the senses has been demonstrated not to be an impassable barrier of all knowledge.

There is the same difference in nature between neglect and cultivation as there is between the untrained and trained human being. The State and society are responsible for ugliness of character which grows out of environment. Such a school as the Deaf School is absolutely necessary, considering the obligation of the State.

The Governor took occasion to say that the tax rate in North Carolina is the lowest except one, and yet we have one of the finest school systems in the country.

"The wealth of the world is ours; to transform it into moral and intellectual womanhood and manhood is our opportunity. North Carolina's highest obligation is to protect her helpless ones in the period of their helplessness. By thus doing we shall be living up to our destiny of high and noble life."

The address was interpreted to the deaf pupils present by Superintendent Goodwin.

ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE

(Washington, D. C., June 22, 1916)

NOTE: This speech was made by Governor Craig in behalf of the State of North Carolina, in presenting to the Nation, for a place in Statuary Hall, at Washington, a statue in memory of her most distinguished son. The statue is the work of Gutzon Borglum. The movement for its erection and presentation was inaugurated by Governor Craig soon after he became Governor.

Mr. Chairman: You and each member of your Commission are entitled to the grateful appreciation of the State. You were appointed by the Governor and Council of State under a resolution of the General Assembly authorizing the placing of the statue of Zebulon Baird Vance in this hall. You have done your work without compensation, but with a zeal which no money could buy. You secured one of the most eminent artists of the age, and have delivered a magnificent statue that excites the enthusiastic admiration of all that have seen it. It speaks the force and the character of our greatest man.

I should acknowledge, too, the obligation which all of us feel for the invaluable assistance of Mr. Silas McBee and Mr. Peter M. Wilson, generously and patriotically given.

And now, Mr. President, the State of North Carolina presents through you to the United States the statue of Zebulon Baird Vance. This is done by authority of a resolution of the General Assembly of North Carolina passed without dissent. The recognition of Vance as the greatest of our men, and the placing of his statue in this pantheon of the Nation, is but the execution of the judgment of all of the people of North Carolina. His personality, his character, and his deeds confer upon him the right to stand here, a peer among the foremost of the Republic.

Our State has not been in a hurry to occupy the two places assigned to her in this hall. In preferring Vance as the first, she has been mindful of her obligation to consider with justice all of her noble sons. And she has realized, too, her obliga-

tion to do justice to herself. This statue shall be a perpetual memorial of him and of her. The State must be judged by the best that she can produce. He is our most precious gift to the world. Since we have set him up as the finest conception and expression of North Carolina life, he must be the standard by which this and coming generations shall measure the significance and worth of the State.

He was a son of North Carolina, bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh. He was born and reared among the mountains, and was of Scotch-Irish lineage, but his sympathies were not limited by sectional lines nor by the dogmas of creeds. Wherever he went, among all classes and conditions of men, from the humblest to the greatest, he was primus inter pares, and exemplified the universal brotherhood. In fashionable salons, among scholars and statesmen, he was simple, natural, brilliant, easily the center. With the same unpretentious manner, on terms of perfect equality he charmed the men in working clothes, with rough hands, and was loved by them as their wiser and stronger brother, whose fidelity could never be doubted. He taught dignity to nobility. He was "a legist among the lawyers, a sidereal among the astronomers."

Vance was trusted and honored and loved by the people of North Carolina as no other man has been. He was elected and re-elected to the places of highest honor. He was vested with the greatest trust and called in every crisis to do the foremost part. From the time that he was thirty years old until the day of his death at the age of sixty-four he was the unrivaled leader. Faith in his loyalty and prowess never faltered.

Pre-eminent merit is not always the necessary prerequisite to high official position, but for thirty years, in times of war and revolution, disaster and suffering, Vance was the chosen champion of the people. He declared their policies. He voiced their highest aspirations. He was always in the fiercest of the conflict to meet and to overcome with blow for blow the mightiest that opposed. He was the voice of the State, the incarnation of her passion, her hopes, her

determination, and her purpose. He was the leader to call her to duty, to rescue her victoriously from ruin and strife into the way of peace and to point her to a triumphant destiny. This entitles him to a place among the immortals.

In 1860 Vance attended the State Convention of the Whigs in Salisbury. This was his first appearance before the whole State. He was thirty years old, a Member of Congress from the mountain district, having been elected for the first time in 1858. The greatest men of the State were there, among them William A. Graham and George E. Badger, statesmen of national prominence. Reports about the young Congressman from the Mountains had spread down into the State. When he spoke to the convention it was realized that the man for the times of approaching storm had appeared. Men heard him with wild delight, and the multitude bore him on their shoulders through the streets of the city. Nothing like him had been seen. He was young, splendid in courage and in humor, in logic and eloquence. They acclaimed him then the born leader of men. He held and was worthy of this distinction as long as he lived.

In 1861 he resigned his position in Congress and went into the Confederate Army. He was Captain and then Colonel of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina Regiment, a regiment glorious for heroism and sacrifice. The men emulated the daring and the courage of their Commander. In 1862, without his seeking, he was elected Governor. No man was ever called to a task more difficult, and no man ever performed his task with more consummate ability and determination.

North Carolina was a Union State; Vance was a Union man. He and she were steadfast to the Union until the awful choice was presented, either to join the armies that were to crush into submission the seceding States in the exercise of constitutional right, or to join the sister States of the South in resisting invasion. When North Carolina joined the Confederacy, and plighted her faith to the cause, Vance was determined that his State should be true to the covenant even unto destruction and death, that she should never surrender until the last soldier had laid down his arms.

In 1863, after the Battle of Gettysburg, when the cause of the Confederacy was desperate, there were strong men in North Carolina who demanded that the Governor should make peace separate from the other Southern States. They made to the old Union men an appeal of plausibility and power. There were thousands of men in the State who would not join the Confederate Army, and thousands who had left it.

The conscript laws must be enforced; the laws and the jurisdiction of the State must be maintained; there was universal uncertainty and confusion. But always the young Governor was firm and clear. He held the State true to the Confederacy. But he made the Confederate Government to know that the civil tribunals of this State were supreme for the protection of the rights of the humblest citizen against military power; that the writ of habeas corpus must be respected, and that it should never be suspended, neither for the enforcement of the conscript laws nor for any other cause; that if under this writ a citizen of North Carolina should be released from arrest or prison, for the protection of such a citizen he would, if necessary, make armed resistance to the Confederate Government with the whole military power of the State.

He trampled down disloyalty to the Confederacy at home. He resisted the unlawful exercise of military power from Richmond. It required a master arm to guide the Ship of State in this tempest between Scylla and Charybdis.

In the political campaign of 1864 his enemies threw down to him the gage of battle—peace against war. The strong Union sentiment of the State that prevailed until the very breaking out of the war, the reverence that had always existed for the Union, made the situation dangerous and fraught with more difficulty in North Carolina than in any other Southern State. Vance was the storm center. Destiny shook her doubtful urn. The material considerations were all with his opponents. The State could cut loose from the Confederacy and make an advantageous peace if she would. Vance went to Virginia to speak to the North Carolina soldiers of Lee's Army. They were the men who bore the hardships

and the brunt of the battle The supreme issue was clear—the separate peace or continued war. Already the land was robed in the consuming fire of war. North Carolina was bleeding to death, a land of sorrows and acquainted with grief; the flower of her sons had been slain; wives and children were suffering at home, sometimes gathering for bread the corn that was spilled out of the wagons of invading armies. The men had heard this cry from home, but they heard, too, the clarion voice of the Governor that called to battle and to sacrifice. Wellington said that the presence of Napoleon in battle was equivalent to 50,000 men. Lee said that Vance's visit and speech to his army was equivalent to a reenforcement of 50,000 men.

He spoke in various parts of the State. Not only the army but the people were inspired with his heroic spirit. The opposition, born of selfishness, wilted before his burning eloquence. The men who had left the camp returned to the colors. North Carolina sent more soldiers to the armies of the Confederacy than any other State, and they were constant even unto the end.

In 1864, on the issue of separate peace or continued war, and on his administration as War Governor, the soldiers voted for Vance. The people voted for him. He was triumphantly elected. North Carolina kept her faith and endured the sacrifice.

When Xerxes was invading Greece, he sent ambassadors to Athens to portray the ruin of resistance and to propose a separate peace that would bring to the Athenians wealth and make their city the ruling city of Greece. The Spartans had been slain at Thermopylae, the Persian armies—innumerable—were sweeping down from the north. The Persian fleets covered the Ægean Sea. Some favored the proposal for the ignominious peace in the Assembly of Athens. Cyrsilus urged that the terms of the great king be accepted. Themistocles declared that it were better for Athens to be destroyed while fighting for the honor and independence of Greece than to accept all of the gold of the Orient. The men of Athens followed Themistocles. They sent away the Persian

Ambassadors; they stoned Cyrsilus to death. And in the day when overwhelming armies were marching upon our land, when the State was drinking the cup of trembling to the very dregs, under the leadership of Vance she gave to us the inheritance that shall never be taken from us.

While mastering the difficulties of politics, and harmonizing contending factions, he did not forget the needs of the soldiers, nor the people, nor the destitute families of the deserters. His ships defied the blockade and brought into our ports from England, rifles, munitions, clothing, shoes, and blankets for the Army, necessities and comforts for all of the homes of the rich and the poor. Our soldiers and people were better provided for than any of the South. He is known to us and to history as "The Great War Governor."

After the carnage of battle, after the wreck and desolation of war, the night of reconstruction set in. North Carolina's wounds had healed, but her heart was bleeding. All of the beasts of prey came forth to plunder and to devour. Darkness and demoralization prevailed. There were many who thought that we should seek admission to the Union in humility and contrition, that we should accept the new order, that we should join the dominant party with its dogmas of social and political equality, that we should submit to the disfranchisement of the foremost and the bravest, and not cry aloud against the control of elections by Federal soldiers. Many of these men were strong men. They thought that further contention with a victorious party was hopeless, and would be disastrous. But there were those who stood for the integrity of the State as a member of the Union, who did not surrender their ideals, who believed in the supremacy of our race, who knew that the policies of reconstruction were impossible, except to our shame and ruin. Vance was the leader, the voice of these, the inspiration of a State that was crushed. In a speech in Raleigh at the beginning of this era of chaos, referring to the men who were advocating the policies that in his opinion would bring ruin to the State, humiliation to the people, and threaten the overflow of our civilization, after pouring out upon them his ridicule and invec-

tive, as with the blast of a tempest he said: "It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for them in North Carolina." He made good the prophecy.

After the surrender and the dissolution of the Confederacy he was loyal to the Union. He had left it with sorrow. He had no venom, no hatred, in his heart, he was charitable to all of his foes, even in his own adversity, but he made reconstruction odious in North Carolina. He poured out the lava of his wrath upon the men who were plundering the State and trampling down her pride and her life.

In 1870 the State elected a Democratic General Assembly over military power and enfranchised slaves. Vance was elected to the United States Senate. He was denied admission on account of disabilities—proscribed because of his service to the Confederacy. The devotion and trust of the people in him was stronger than ever. The storms growing out of the war had not abated. The violence of the contest for the rehabilitation of the State and the restoration of her government to virtue and intelligence continued with determination. Vance was nominated for Governor in 1876. Judge Thomas Settle, a man of character and eminent ability, the foremost of the Republicans, was his opponent. Their joint canvass has never been equaled in our State, nor in my opinion surpassed anywhere. The problems resulting from the war, the political status of the State, the constitutional rights of the people, the new social order, the administration of our government, were debated with consummate power. These men standing for opposing ideas had grappled to try conclusions. The time was fierce and the people were intense. Multitudes gathered to hear them. The Republicans hailed Settle with enthusiasm as a splendid and undaunted chief. Vance was acclaimed as a deliverer. He was escorted by cavalcades and surrounded by cheering thousands. Vance was elected. The supremacy of his party, the ideals and the policies for which he stood were firmly established in North Carolina. Order came out of chaos, the hatreds of the war were forgotten, the fields were glad with harvests, the university

was opened, schools were established, the State rejoiced in peace and in her growing strength. She turned to the working out of her destiny, loyal to the Union of the fathers and under the flag.

In 1879 Vance took his seat in the Senate of the United States. The volcanic force and fire of the period of storm and revolution subsided into the calm and clear strength and dignity of the Senator. At no period in our history have there been so many men in the Senate of power and accomplished statesmanship. Every State sent her strongest men. The floor of the Senate was the arena of intellectual giants. There were Blaine, of Maine; Edmunds and Morrill, of Vermont; Hoar, of Massachusetts; Conkling, of New York; Bayard, of Delaware; Ransom, of North Carolina; Hampton, of South Carolina; Benjamin Hill, of Georgia; Morgan, of Alabama; Lamar, of Mississippi; Blackburn, of Kentucky; Vest, of Missouri; Voorhees, of Indiana; Thurman, of Ohio; Ingalls, of Kansas. In this great company, Vance was recognized as the equal of any, an intellectual gladiator who never lowered his arm, a statesman who dedicated himself to labor and to the service of the State and of the whole Nation. He mastered the problems of his time, and added to his national fame. His speeches gave evidence, not only of his known ability, but of classic culture. In debates on the policies and fundamental questions of controlling importance he was generally put forward as the spokesman of his party. He was by constitution and by culture a democrat. He was the unrelenting foe of unjust privilege of all kinds, the apostle of equal rights. He delivered the faith that is now the creed of Democracy. For half a century the advocates of political dogmas have conjured with his name, or tried to conjure with it.

There was nothing of the demagogue about Vance. He was nearly always on the popular side, but often by his own genius he made his side popular. He was one of those men of genius of universal type. He was one of the people, in full accord and sympathy with them. His single purpose was the common good, with a passion for justice and against unfairness and oppression. General Theodore F. Davidson, a

kinsman of Vance, who knew him perhaps more intimately than any living man, says of him:

"Another characteristic, particularly in public matters, was his capacity to divine the right; it seemed to me that with less effort than any public man of whom I have any knowledge, he could almost instantly comprehend a public question with its results, by intuition. This quality was an endowment of nature, developed and strengthened by the circumstances of his unusual career.

"Another distinguishing characteristic which made him the first of the 'leaders of men,' was his absolute devotion to that which he believed to be the best for his country and his people. I do not believe there ever was a moment in his life when he was not perfectly willing to offer himself and all he had for the benefit of his countrymen without the slightest consideration whether it brought to him compensation in any form."

If you strike the chord of a musical instrument in the midst of other musical instruments, all of the chords that are in perfect harmony will vibrate with the same rhythm. Vance was in harmony with the people. The same causes that stirred them stirred him. He uttered the dominant note. His vision was farther and clearer. His conception stronger. He expressed what they vaguely felt, and what they had been longing to hear, and he gave tone and unity to their thought, their aspirations, and their life.

He was sympathetic and tender as a child. On the 13th of May, 1865, he was arrested without notice by Federal soldiers in Statesville. As he went along the road to his unknown destiny, a prisoner surrounded by soldiers, through a State where in other days every journey had been a triumphal procession, Mr. Samuel Wittowsky, who was with him, says that for a moment he was overcome and shed tears while they drove along in silence. "This will not do," said Vance; "I must not allow my feelings to unman me, but it is so hard to bear. I am not so much concerned about what may be in store for me, but my poor wife and little children; they have not a cent of money to live on." When Danton, the giant of

the French Revolution, who had defied imperial armies, who had hurled at the feet of the coalesced kings of Europe as gage of battle, the head of a king; who had organized armies and had saved France, when he stood upon the platform of the guillotine, surrounded by soldiers and the populace howling for his blood, he, too, broke down in tears, saying: "I will never see my poor wife any more, then." He, too, nerved himself with the expression: "Danton, no weakness."

Vance never quailed nor bowed the knee to power. When he was down, when his enemies were in control and his future seemed darkest he wrote the following letter:

"To the editor of The New York World: I see by the public prints that General Kilpatrick has decorated me with his disapprobation before the people of Pennsylvania. He informs them, substantially, that he tamed me by capturing me and riding me 200 miles on a bareback mule. I will do him the justice to say that he knew that was a lie when he uttered it.

"I surrendered to General Schofield at Greensboro, N. C., on the 2nd day of May, 1865, who told me to go to my home and remain there, saying that if he got any orders to arrest me he would send there for me. Accordingly I went home, and there remained until I was arrested on the 13th of May by a detachment of 300 Cavalry, under Major Porter, of Harrisburg, from whom I received nothing but kindness and courtesy. I came in a buggy to Salisbury, where we took the cars.

"I saw no mule on the trip, yet I thought I saw an ass at the General's Headquarters; this impression has since been confirmed. Respectfully yours,

"Z. B. VANCE."

His humor was inimitable; it was spontaneous. Audiences were convulsed with laughter by his witticisms and his stories; but his humor was always an incident. It always illustrated. It was always used for a purpose. It was overwhelming and brought his antagonist irresistably into ridicule. When the southern leaders in Congress were accused of disloyalty, he said:

"What motive have we to injure this country? Having surrendered the doctrine of secession and abandoned any in-

tention whatsoever to divide this Union, how could we expect that the democracy to which we belong could obtain and hold the control of the Government except by showing the people by our acts that we are patriotically desirous of promoting its welfare and its glory. But you say you distrust these expressions. My friends, in your hearts you do not. On the contrary, a man who has offered his blood once for his plighted faith you believe when he plights his faith again. There is not a southern rebel, no matter how bitter and rampant he may have been, that you have not received with arms widespread and rewarded with offices of honor and trust who came to you with craven repentance on his tongue, ready to vote the Republican ticket and eating dirt with the same gluttonous appetite with which he once ate fire. You profess to believe him, but you despise him in your hearts. You are not alarmed to receive him and you cast no suspicion upon his professions of sincerity, though, as has more than once happened, he asks you to believe he tells the truth today because he told a lie yesterday."

His personal appearance was unique. He did not look like other men. No man who saw him ever forgot him. His magnetism charmed with a peculiar and indescribable power. When you looked upon him, you knew that you beheld the lion-hearted leader of men.

When known and understood, men of all parties admired and honored him for his convictions, his courage, his kindness of heart, his abiding loyalty and devotion to the whole country.

When he died, the State was awed into a solemnity that we had not known. It was realized that the foremost had fallen. The train bearing him for the last time to the bosom of the mountains that bore him and nurtured him passed through the State while the assembled people with uncovered heads bowed and wept. Meetings were held in almost every county in expression of universal sorrow. The State was his funeral cortège.

"No hollow formalist was he, deceptive and self-deceptive, ghastly to the natural sense, but a very man, fiery, real, from the great fire bosom of nature herself."

OPENING OF THE GREAT STATE FAIR

(October 17th, 1916)

Industry is victorious. She comes to celebrate her triumph and to show her accomplishments. From the hills she has reaped the yellow harvest, and from the wide fields she has gathered the silken fiber, more valuable than the Golden Fleece for which the Argonauts sailed. On her pastures are the finest herds of cattle. Her fruits are wrapped in the crimson and gold of autumn, flavored with the royal aroma of the flowers. All the staples of food and raiment and luxury have been produced in abundance.

In manufacture and commerce, intelligent industry has been rewarded with equal bounty. Our factories send furniture to the farthest States of the Union, and our mills send fabrics to the farthest countries of the world.

The towns and cities are pulsing with energy, and growing in trade and commercial importance.

From the year 1901 until now no country ever went forward in economical development more than the State of North Carolina, nor did any ever manifest more progress in moral and intellectual development.

It may encourage us to renewed activity and strength to remember what our people have done within the last sixteen years. The facts and the figures eloquently tell the story.

Mr. Bion Butler states that in the census period of 1900-1910 North Carolina doubled the value of her farm products, and that in the first five years of the present census period, she has almost doubled again; that within the ten years from 1900-1910 the State made the phenomenal record of advancing as much in agriculture as she did in the three hundred years of her history from the planting of Raleigh's first colony to the beginning of this century; and that within the last six years she has made an equal advance. "This," concludes Mr. Butler, "is without parallel in history." If this magnificent progress be continued for another ten years, North Carolina

will leave behind her rival sister States, and forge to the front among the very foremost of the Union. I never travel with a stranger through our territory without hearing his enthusiastic comment on the wonderful improvement and the spirit of enterprise manifest along all railroads and highways.

In the year 1900, the disheartened farmer with his ox or bony horse scratched the sterile, stingy soil and it yielded on an average of thirteen bushels of nubbins to the acre; now he produces on an average of twenty-two bushels of corn to the acre. Then he got on an average from an acre six and seven-tenths bushels of wheat; now he reaps eleven bushels. Then he got twelve bushels of oats; now he gets twenty-three bushels. Then he produced on an average seven bushels of rye to the acre, and it was destined for twenty-one gallons of liquor, three gallons to the bushel, with all the disorder and misery that liquor can bring and more, for red pepper and sulphuric acid were thrown in for good measure; now he produces eleven and five-tenths bushels of rye to the acre, all of which is food for man and beast.

In that time after the toil of the long hot days of summer, he gathered in hopeless poverty one hundred and sixty-seven pounds of cotton from the average acre, worth twelve or fifteen dollars; now he gathers two hundred and sixty pounds worth fifty dollars. The cotton seed that he now produces to the acre is worth more than was the cotton fiber in the latter years of the last century.

This year the State will produce 65,000,000 bushels of corn; 10,000,000 bushels of wheat; 12,000,000 bushels of potatoes; 197,000,000 pounds of tobacco; 650,000 tons of hay; and 650,000 bales of cotton, every bale of which together with the seed is worth more than a hundred dollars. The cotton crop of North Carolina alone this year is worth $70,000,000, and all of the crops of the State combined have a value of more than two hundred million dollars. This does not take into consideration the cattle which are shipped out of the State, and which constitute now a rapidly growing industry.

North Carolina ranks now, and has ranked for six years,

as the first State of the Union in the production of cotton per acre.

The soil has been strengthened. Man can sow in faith to reap the harvest of plenty. Agriculture has evolved from penury to profit.

In recounting this unrivaled development it would not be just to fail to acknowledge the invaluable work done by the College of Agriculture & Mechanic Arts, and by the Department of Agriculture with the present earnest and able Commissioner of Agriculture at its head. The College has sent its alumni to all sections of the State equipped for the practical and scientific cultivation of the fields and for the higher development of the profession of agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture has stimulated farming to increasing activity. It has protected the farmers from imposition, it has ascertained and encouraged the most profitable crops and methods by intelligent experiment and demonstration.

In manufacturing, our development has kept pace with the progress in agriculture. North Carolina is now one of the leading manufacturing States of the South. In 1900 our cotton mills were capitalized at $22,000,000; now we have three hundred and eighteen cotton mills with a total capital of about $58,000,000. These mills are operating 4,000,000 spindles with 67,000 looms, requiring 178,000 horsepower. We manufacture all of the cotton that we produce and sometimes more. The value of the yearly output of these mills is near $90,000,000. They give employment to more than 51,000 people, whose wages amount to $17,000,000.

There are in the State one hundred and two furniture factories, with a capital of more than $8,000,000, giving employment to 6,000 people, whose wages amount to a half million of dollars, with an output worth more than $10,000,000.

All over the State, mechanical industries are doing a thriving business, and making for home and for export all kinds of manufactured articles. From one end of the State to the other are stretched the electric cables through which stream the harnessed powers of the French Broad, the Ca-

tawba, the Yadkin, the Pee Dee, the Cape Fear, and the Roanoke, delivering exhaustless energy to the centers of industry, lighting cities and towns and setting in motion millions of wheels and spindles.

In the last sixteen years there have been built in North Carolina 1,500 miles of railroad, and 15,000 miles of improved highways. The facilities of transportation have been carried to the remote sections. Our cities and towns have been in a large measure relieved from the unjust discrimination in transportation that has heretofore prevailed against them. By this freight rate adjustment the saving to North Carolinians has amounted to millions of dollars. The effect is manifest in the increasing prosperity of our cities and towns. The unjust discrimination has to a large extent been corrected. Our wholesale merchants are now competing with the merchants of other States.

In 1900 we had no highways. The roads were avenues of mud and hills. During the last four years we have built ten thousand miles of improved highways—twice as much as in all the preceding history of the State. In addition to this, we have graded about all of the principal roads of the State. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Smoky Mountains, and across the State from South Carolina to Virginia, there are now the finest roads for citizens and for tourists.

During the last four years, North Carolina has spent more than fifteen millions of dollars on roads. This is not an expense. It is an investment that pays a dividend of one hundred per cent every year. The last Legislature established a Highway Commission to provide for a more efficient and a more systematic expenditure of the people's money.

Nothing has contributed more to the prosperity and the happiness and social development of our country than these improved roads. The movement has gained a momentum that will result in the establishment of the best highways to every community. No community can be without good roads, unless it be satisfied to lag behind in all the improvements of modern life in this day of enlightenment and progress. The old country road of rocks and mud and steep hills is a thing of

the past. The highway immeasurably finer than the "King's Highway" of old, has been established, with the swift and powerful vehicles of modern transportation.

There pass in review no soldiers today. They are on the southern border, for the protection of the people and the territory of this Republic. But in imagination we can pass in review the grand army of North Carolina workers; 3,000 corn club boys marching in the van; 250,000 cornfield men with brown faces and brave hearts, the producers of bread; 60,000 textile workers, spinners and weavers, with lint on their garments and hair; 50,000 men in overalls whose levers turn the driving wheels of mills and locomotives; 250,000 women, the mothers of the sons and daughters of Carolina, the priestesses who preside with vestal devotion over the sanctuary of home. These with the captains of industry and all men and women who work, constitute the State, and are the builders of the State. These plowers, spinners, weavers, builders, unstained by the heart's blood of men, ennobled by fruitful labor, growing ever nobler, whereby man has risen from the low places of earth. Hail them with triumphant acclaim; invest them with the cestus of victory, for they have overcome! They belong to the "Grand Host; immeasurable; marching ever forward since the Beginning of the World. The enormous, all-conquering, flame-crowned Host, noble every soldier in it; sacred and alone noble. Let him who is not of it hide himself; let him tremble for himself. Stars at every button cannot make him noble; nor any other contrivance, but manfully enlisting in it, valiantly taking place and step in it."

This wonderful advancement of the State is manifest in the financial condition of the people. In 1899 there were ninety-five Banks, both State and National, in the State. Today there are four hundred and twenty-six State Banks, and eighty-one National Banks. In 1899 there were $14,836,000 on deposit. Today the people have on deposit in their banks $107,424,000. The farmers, the manufacturers, the merchants, have made money for the extension and the im-

provement of their industries, and besides have deposited more than a hundred million dollars in the banks.

But economic development is not the object of man's highest endeavor. It is not the ultimate aim of civilization. All wealth and all laws and all government and all institutions must have for their final aim and result the guarantee of an opportunity for every citizen to attain his highest development.

North Carolina's moral and intellectual growth has kept pace with her material growth.

We have not forgotten that the child is the hope of the State. There are now in attendance upon the public schools more than twice as many children as in the year 1900, and they are going to school nearly twice as many days in the year. The houses in which they are taught cost nearly nine times as much, and their teachers are paid two and a half times as much. Then the average value of a school house was $158.00; now it is $1,162.74. Then there were 1,190 log school houses; now there are but sixty-five. Soon these will give place to handsome structures similar to those that are the ornament and the pride of nearly every School District in the State. This has cost money, but money that the patriotic citizens of North Carolina have willingly paid.

It will not be long until illiteracy in North Carolina will disappear; and in the Moonlight Schools the people who grew up in a less fortunate era are receiving the opportunities which they should have enjoyed in their youth. All of our institutions of learning are thronged with students eager for that strength and equipment in a State where merit is rewarded, and where the honest hope of all men is not denied.

We have established a Department of Health in recent years that has brought untold blessings to our people. This department is stamping out the preventable diseases. It is protecting the homes of the high and of the lowly against the invasion of disease and death. Pestilence no longer stalks abroad unchallenged in the noon day. Men and women and children suffer and die from causes that can be removed. They are deaf and dumb and feebleminded, and are stricken

with blindness and insanity, condemned to lives of darkness and hopelessness not by the inscrutable decree of Providence, but by the failure of society to protect them against the enemy that is more cruel than death. North Carolina is discharging this sacred obligation. It costs money that a noble State will gladly pay. But withal our government is the cheapest, the most economical, in all the civilized world, and taxes are lower per capita than in any other State but one. We should not boast of this. The courage and energy of a growing race must spring from robust health.

And North Carolina is now one of the healthiest States in the Union. Her death rate is among the lowest of all the States of the Union. Her birth rate is the highest of any State in the Union. We produce not only more corn per acre than any of the Commonwealths, but we produce more babies per capita than any. This infant industry cannot be discouraged by tariffs or free trade, nor by wars nor rumors of wars.

The prosperity and the development which we have enjoyed in North Carolina demonstrates that the people have full confidence and the security of good government. From the opening years of this century until now no scandal has been suggested. The public officials have honestly discharged their duties and the Legislatures have enacted laws for the welfare and encouragement of the people of the State. No country can prosper without good government. The territory of Turkey is as fertile as ours. The people of that country would develop an enlightened and advancing civilization but for the discouragement that comes from tyranny and corrupt government.

Every dollar invested in railroads, every dollar invested in factories, and all of the energy expended upon the farms of this State are protected by just laws honestly and economically administered.

The country is enjoying prosperity that never before has been ours. By a currency system, elastic, adjustable to the demands of commerce, panics for scarcity of money have

been made impossible, and by an administration determined to protect the producers, the speculators that have heretofore preyed upon them have been driven away. Wall Street can no longer paralyze the enterprise of the Nation. It can no longer strangle commerce by contracting the currency and depreciating values. If President Wilson was responsible for the temporary low price of cotton in 1914, "a fortiori," he is responsible for the lasting high price of cotton in 1916, and unprecedented prosperity. With the unlimited resources of this country as yet in the beginning of development, with just laws, the future unfolds in grander revelation to the genius of the American people.

OUR OPPORTUNITY

Extract From A Speech Delivered By The Governor To The Southern Commercial Congress, At Norfolk, Virginia, December, 1916.

The South is endeared to us by the heroism and sacrifice of our fathers and kindred. Her soil is consecrated by the lives and by the blood of the bravest, and the roots of our tradition grow deep, hallowed by the memories of the past.

We love the Union; we rejoice that we were born beneath the ample folds of the Stars and Stripes. We will defend it forever. It stands for Law and Freedom and Justice for all mankind. More than any other flag, we hope and believe it stands for the Altruistic.

The patriotism of sectionalism is past—no longer determined by geographical lines. All civilized nations are interdependent—bound together—correlated in one Federation of the World. Humanity has no frontiers. The locomotive, the gasoline motor, the electric current, the morning newspaper, are the Evangels of our time—economically—spiritually. The race realizes its kinship, and the world throbs with the pulsation of the same thought, the same aspirations. The day of the hostile tribe and the hostile state has passed.

Dumas tells of the political prisoner, the Count of Monte Cristo, confined in a stone fortress for fourteen years on the rocky coast of the Atlantic Ocean. A fellow prisoner occupied a communicating dungeon. At the end of fourteen years this prison mate died. They sewed the body in a coarse winding sheet, and laid it upon the stone couch. As the Count of Monte Cristo, in the gloom of his dungeon, looked upon the dead form, and realized that the only voice that had spoken to him in friendship and sympathy for fourteen years was forever hushed in death, he was almost a maniac. But the lightning flash of a thought! He knew that when the darkness came, the jailors would bury the dead body by casting it over the rampart of the castle into the sea. He unravelled the

stitches of the winding sheet. He placed the dead body upon his own couch, and sewed himself in the hempen shroud. Sure enough, when it was dark he heard the footsteps of the jailors; the door to his dungeon swung upon its rusty hinges. He feared that they would hear the drum beat of his heart. The rude hands of the jailors took, as they thought, the dead form along the damp corridors of the fortress to the open deck. They swung the body to and fro—and then, with a mighty heave, they cast it over the rampart into the sea. As the Count of Monte Cristo touched the water, with his knife he ripped open his shroud. He swam to the nearest rock that projected out of the water. He clambered up. For the first time in fourteen years he felt upon his pallid brow the breath of Heaven's air. He looked upon the broad expanse of sea and sky. Naked, like a gladiator in the circus; "for Circus, he had the vast horizon; instead of the Vestals, the Stars; instead of Caesar, the All Powerful!" By the winds of the illimitable oceans, by the radiance of the stars, God sent a message to him, and he shouted: "The World is mine!" Yes, the lone man upon the rock, the seething serf lashing his feet, his face covered with its foam—free! In the glory of his manhood he could say, "The World is mine!"

The World is Ours!—not for conquest—not for exploitation—not for oppression; but for co-operation and mutual opportunity, to the realization, by the forces and ideals of our enlightened age, of the finer civilization, the finer individual life. The great day of Crisis and Awakening calls for the brave, clear and steadfast in the Faith of Righteousness, "With power on this dark land to lighten it, and power on this dead world to make it live."

MOUNT MITCHELL

Extracts From A Pamphlet Published By The Governor In 1915, Entitled "Mitchell's Peak And Dr. Mitchell."

Mitchell's Peak is the highest mountain in North America east of the Rockies. Its altitude is 6,711 feet. It is one of the peaks of the Black Mountains, the loftiest range of the Appalachian System. The Peak is situated in Western North Carolina in the County of Yancey, twenty miles from the Town of Black Mountain, on the Southern Railway, and ten or fifteen miles from Mount Mitchell Station on the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railway.

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The Black Mountains are covered with luxurious growth of balsam or spruce. From the dark, rich green of this forest, the mountains derive their name. Their dark, somber color is in distinct contrast to the blue of other neighboring mountain ranges covered with forests of lighter green.

This balsam or spruce timber is now very valuable for lumber and wood pulp. It has been purchased by companies who are rapidly removing it in immense quantities, and denuding the slopes of the mountain of its magnificent virgin growth. The ground is left covered with the resinous leaves and laps of the trees, which when dry are most inflammable. It seems impossible to prevent fires. On the areas which have been cut over, conflagrations sweep with terrific fury, burning everything. The rich and gorgeous slopes of the vast mountains are left a desert of blackened ruin.

In the summer of 1914 the lumbermen who had purchased the timber on Mitchell were proceeding to remove it. Large areas on the sides of the mountain had been destroyed by axe and fire. The summit and the whole mountain were threatened. I had a conference with Messrs. Pearley and Crockett, who owned and were cutting this timber. At my solicitation they generously agreed to suspend operations on and around

the summit of the mountain until the General Assembly should meet. I stated to them that I would urge the General Asssembly to protect this mountain and provide a reasonable compensation to them for the timber. But for this arrangement Mitchell's Peak would have been devastated, and its beauty destroyed. The General Assembly did make an appropriation of $20,000 to be used in the purchase of land for a park on the mountain, including the summit. By this enactment, the most noted mountain in the eastern portion of the United States was preserved in its original beauty and grandeur for ourselves and our posterity.

One of the considerations moving the General Assembly to the establishment of the park was to relieve this famous mountain from private control, that the people of North Carolina and tourists from all parts of the world might have the privilege of free access.

The bill making the appropriation for the establishment of the park was introduced and advocated in the Senate by Senator Zebulon Weaver, of Buncombe; and in the House by Hon. G. P. Deyton, of Yancey. It passed both houses by a large majority.

This Act of the General Assembly provided for a Commission to purchase and condemn the land for the park. I appointed on this Commission: Messrs. G. P. Deyton, of Yancey; E. F. Watson, of Yancey; M. C. Honeycutt, of Yancey; Wilson Hensley, of Yancey; and T. E. Blackstock, of Buncombe.

The Commission has agreed with the owners as to the price and has purchased the land for the park except five acres near the summit. To secure this five acres, condemnation proceedings have been begun, as provided by hte statute.

The land on the summit, including the grave of Dr. Mitchell, was conveyed about forty years ago to Miss Margaret Mitchell, a daughter of Dr. Mitchell. Her heirs have expressed their willingness to convey this land to the State.

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When on the top of Mount Mitchell you feel that you are in a lofty altitude, and amid the mighty upheavals of the

primeval ages of the planet. Geologists tell us that this is the oldest land of the earth. In the beginning the Spirit of God moved upon the face of chaos, and God said let the waters under the heavens be gathered together in one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so. At this command of the Almighty the tide of the boundless ocean receded; the dome of the Appalachians appeared above the waste of waters. Before Abraham was, this mountain was. It was old when Sinai was built. It was dry land when Noah's deluge swept over Asia, for the waters did not rise above this summit.

On this mountain, covered with forests dark and somber, you hear in the ancient winds "The voice of days of old and days to be." For ages it has stood in primeval solitude and solemn grandeur, while above and around and beneath the clouds have swept and the storms raged. It will stand in silent and august majesty when austral seas shall bury our civilization under ocean wastes.

Here nature has riven the awful gorges and built the everlasting cliffs. The neighboring peaks of the Black Mountains, all over six thousand feet, clad in the dark rich green of the balsam, rank worthily with the commanding monarch. Across the dizzy depths is the Pinnacle of the Blue Ridge; across the Gorge of the Swannanoa rise the Craggies—The Dome, The Pinnacle, and The Bull's Head; on the far horizon are the towers and domes of the vast amphitheater of mountains—Table Rock, The Roan, Grandfather, Tennessee Bald, Pisgah, and a hundred others. Peaks and ranges, fold behind fold, higher and higher, in the purpling distance,

"Loom grander far than any sea."

Mitchell's best view is at sunrise. In the light of Dawn the world of mountains seems to rise out of the darkness of the infinite abyss; below great lakes of white clouds cover the valleys; the chambers of the East are hung with crimson and cloth of gold, for the Majesty of Day is approaching with his escort of splendor; "From dewey branch birds here and there with short deep warble salute the coming Sun. Stars fade out and Galaxies—Street Lamps of the City of God. The Universe is flinging wide its portals for the Levee of the Great High King."

THE ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP

Governor Craig's Last Message To The General Assembly, January 5th, 1917.

To the Honorable the General Assembly of North Carolina: The days of my ministration are accomplished. In obedience to the Constitution and in compliance with your will, I speak to you my last word as the Governor of the State of North Carolina.

Four years ago you invested me with the responsibilities of this high office. I have welcomed every opportunity for service, and my strength and energy have been devoted to the State. I have administered this office steadfast in the resolve to do exact justice to all—to the rich and to the poor, to the strong and to the weak, without regard to race or politics. In delivering up this place to my able and patriotic successor, it is with regret that I have not been able to do more for the people that conferred upon me the honor and the trust to be the Chief Magistrate of the State.

I acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy and cooperation, the faithful work of all my associates and assistants in office.

I reflect with some pride and satisfaction that the people, by an overwhelming majority, have placed the seal of approval upon my administration, and have declared their confidence in my successor and his administration.

I do not come with a full program for your consideration; that task will be performed by my successor.

In my opinion, the salaries of State Officers should be increased. The Constitution forbids any increase of the salary of Governor and Officers created during their terms of office. Any increase for them must be before the inauguration. The greatly increased cost of living has made all salaries less valuable. It seems but reasonable that we should pay our Chief Executive as much as the Federal Government pays the Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Governor can-

not live in the Mansion provided by the State at the present salary and do the things expected of him, and which he must do in accordance with established custom and the requirements of hospitality. I know whereof I speak. He must provide the means from other sources, and this the State does not desire.

The same observation applies to all the State Officers, but the Legislature will have full time for consideration of remuneration to all of them except the Governor and the members of his Council. We have able, conscientious officials. They are worth more, they earn more than they receive. The people of North Carolina would willingly pay a reasonable and just compensation for efficient service.

All the offices and all the places in our Government have been administered in economy and honesty, above the breath of scandal, and by men of upright lives and high purpose, whose daily walk is in the Democratic plainness and simplicity of the tribunes of ancient Rome.

At the last election, the people ratified Amendments to the Constitution. This General Assembly must enact statutes to make them effective. You will, by the Amendments, be relieved of a vast amount of local legislation, and have time for the consideration of problems of general importance.

Recently, the Republic of Cuba has come into possession of "Reconstruction Bonds" amounting to more than two millions of dollars, and is attempting to enforce the payment of these bonds in the Supreme Court of the United States. The bonds were issued in the evil days that followed the war, when corruption and plunder were shameless, when marauders infested this capital. The State received no benefit from them. They were promptly repudiated, and the Constitutional Convention of 1875 made unlawful their payment by any official or by any General Assembly. Their dishonor was published to the world, and no interest upon them has ever been paid.

Adventurers and unscrupulous speculators have procured or gotten control of many of these bonds, and have by devious methods attempted to collect them. The Federal Constitution provides that no individual can sue the Sovereign State.

On this account, the holders and their agents have attempted to force collection through the agency of other States of the Union, and for this purpose have offered most liberal gifts to States with whom they have negotiated. After these States became informed of the facts, they refused to touch the unclean thing.

If North Carolina owed the bonds, she would pay them, and would have recognized their validity. She does not owe them, and will in every way possible resist their payment.

The citizens of North Carolina have always felt the deepest interest in the welfare and destiny of the Republic of Cuba. In 1898, thousands of young men volunteered from the State to enlist in the Army for the relief from oppression and for the liberty of the people of that island. The blood of the bravest was shed in the war of emancipation and humanity. We were, for these reasons, astonished that the Republic of Cuba should make herself a party to the unholy alliance for forcing from North Carolina the payment of these dishonored and fraudulent bonds.

I have declined to consider any suggestion of compromise. I have declined all suggestions of negotiations with the view to securing a withdrawal of this suit by the Republic of Cuba. These bonds are not like the South Dakota bonds. It is inconceivable to me that the action can be maintained in any jurisdiction, or that their payment by this Sovereign State can be enforced by any power. I have employed able counsel to assist the Attorney-General. The case is set for argument in the Supreme Court of the United States on Monday, the 8th of January. We will fight it to a finish. I am convinced that the State of North Carolina will prevail in the great case now pending, and that this last cloud of Reconstruction which has threatened for fifty years upon our horizon, will disappear forever.

I rejoice to declare that the State is in better condition than at any period in her whole history, that the governing party that placed me here is stronger and more secure than ever in the loyalty and harmonious union of its members, and that by the long continuation of a government of integrity

and devotion to the public weal, it has justified the confidence and trust of the people.

In our memory there are years of darkness and hardship with tempests of war for a background, when political might prevailed, and its minions went forth to plunder and to devour, when fields were barren, when people were poor and discouraged, and when opportunity was denied. This was indeed a land of sorrows and acquainted with grief. We, ourselves, have been witnesses and partakers in the transformation of a State and her people. Out of the darkness of Reconstruction, there was the day spring of '76. The people girded their loins to overcome adversity. They re-established a government of law and security. They rehabilitated the State and her institutions. They opened the university and built the school.

During the sixteen years of this century, North Carolina has made more progress than in all the years of her preceding history. In substantial development she has been surpassed by no State of the Union, nor by any civilized country whose history we know. Her growth and accomplishment is like a tale of Arabian romance.

We are an agricultural people, and agriculture measures our national progress. By the intelligent cultivation of the soil, the yield of all staple crops per acre has been about doubled. The acreage of tillage has been increased until now the State, once far behind, ranks in agriculture among the first of the Union. The prosperity of the farm appears to the passerby in improved fields, improved dwellings, and all the appointments of the farm.

The College of Agriculture & Mechanic Arts and the Department of Agriculture have been potential agencies in this wonderful development. The college must be manned and equipped for its larger usefulness. It should have 5,000 students. Its alumni will go to all sections of the State, and of the country, trained for captains of industry, for the practical and scientific cultivation of the soil and for the higher development of the profession of agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture has stimulated farming to

increasing activity. It has protected the farmers from imposition, it has ascertained and encouraged the most profitable crops by methods of intelligent experiment and demonstration. The building now occupied by the Department is not fit. In its stead there should be erected a building commensurate with the requirements, typifying the finest and the greatest of all of the industries of North Carolina.

Manufacturing is prospering as never before, and is developing in every section of the State. The cotton mills alone require for their operation 187,000 horse-power. They manufacture all the cotton that we produce and more. The value of their product for the last year was $100,000,000.

The utilization of water-power is assuming large proportions. On a twenty-mile section of the Yadkin River, 250,000 horse-power is now in course of development. From one end of the State to the other are electric cables through which are poured the transformed power of the French Broad, the Catawba, the Yadkin, the Pee Dee, the Cape Fear, and the Roanoke, delivering exhaustless energy to the centers of industry, lighting cities and towns, and driving millions of wheels and spindles. The commercial advancement of our towns and cities is keeping pace with manufacturing and agriculture.

The country home is no longer a place of isolation and desolation. Improved farming brings the comforts of life; the telephone, the mail box, good schools, and good roads enlarge and illuminate the horizon of country life. As rural conditions improve, ambitious youth and manhood will abide and grow in the free and pure atmosphere for the breeding of a robust race. The country home should be provided with all modern appliances of comfort and economy. Rural communities should be empowered by statute to incorporate themselves for the purpose of securing water and light, and all available public utilities. Running water in the home is the most desirable of all modern conveniences. It saves women and children from drudgery in the heat and in the cold. It brings comfort and cleanliness. It preserves health. Every farmer of modern means can have this convenience. It is not

an expense. It is an economy. With screens in the windows and pure running water in the house, the home will be clean and sanitary, and the people who dwell therein will be cleaner, healthier, stronger and better.

We have always the perplexing question of taxation. The Constitution makes the solution difficult. The large per cent of the personal wealth of the State is not listed for taxation. One cause for this is the alleged under-valuation of the land.

The Corporation Commission made an intelligent and courageous effort to equalize the tax values of the State, and have accomplished much, but the situation is by no means satisfactory.

There are in the State vast acres of unused land held for speculation. The owners neither use it nor intend to use it. These lands are listed for taxation at a very small part of their sale value. In assessments, the discrimination is in their favor and against the lands that have been improved. These unused lands should not be favored by the tax assessor for their owners are appropriating the value—the unearned increment created by the growth and enterprise of the whole community. If there be any discrimination let it favor the man who has improved by industry his holdings, and made his land productive; not to the man who refuses to improve and who prevents the natural development. A proper assessment would discourage the holdings of vacant land for purposes of speculation, and encourage the industrious and the energetic to buy their own homes. This is especially true of city and suburban property.

There is nothing that contributes more to the strength and patriotism, the highest development of citizenship, than the ownership of homes. A proprietor is independent. He cannot be a serf. Every farmer in North Carolina should determine to own the land upon which he lives, though the acreage be small. He will then have a firm dwelling place, a steadfast interest in country and government.

The Federal Reserve Act has destroyed the money monopoly. The Farm Loan Bank recognizes the land as security upon which money can be obtained on long and easy terms.

Land in North Carolina is comparatively cheap. A man of energy and determination can own his home if he will.

Good roads have been a potential agency for the welfare of the State. In obedience to the dictates of common sense, business requirements and the progressive spirit of the age, the people of North Carolina have determined to have good roads. During the last four years, we have built twice as many miles of improved highways as in all our preceding history. We now have about 15,000 miles of well graded, surfaced roads. In January, 1913, we had about 5,000 miles. We have built 10,000 since then.

During the last four years, the Central Highway* has been built from the Atlantic Ocean over the coastal plain, over the hills of the Piedmont, over the Blue Ridge to the Canyon of the Great Rocky Mountains. The section of this road from Old Fort to Ridge Crest, and a section in Madison County, were built by State convicts. Within the last four years, the highway from Charlotte to Asheville has been completed. The State convicts built that difficult section from Chimney Rock to Hickory Nut Gap. Similar highways have been built across the State and into every section. Road building goes on with increasing momentum. No community will be without unless it be satisfied to deny itself the improvements of modern life in this day of enlightenment and progress. The old country road of rocks and mud and steep hills, consuming energy, forbidding progress, is past. With good roads, communities are correlated, markets are available, schools and churches are accessible, land rises in value, progress is inevitable. Our highways are immeasurably finer than "The King's Highway" of old, and they are the tracks for the swift and powerful vehicles.

The automobile is the modern machine for local transportation. They are rapidly coming into universal use. We cannot get along without them, and they cannot get along without the good road. Their indispensable efficiency is not available without the graded, surfaced highway. They are monopolizing the roads, and they make road building and road maintenance far more expensive. They should bear a

*Now the Old Hickory Highway.

large part of this burden. The tax on them might be increased, and their owners would not complain, provided the money be applied to the betterment of the roads.

The State Highway Commission was established by the General Assembly of 1915. This Commission has justified its creation. Its usefulness has been limited by lack of funds. The revenue from automobiles might be largely administered by the Commission. The modern highway is no longer a neighborhood affair, but a State institution for communication and use by the people of different sections. By improper location and construction, a vast amount of money has been spent not to the best advantage. This can in the future be remedied by conferring upon the Commission supervisory powers. Competent and experienced engineers could be furnished.

On all of the principal highways, railroad grade crossings should be abolished. This is demanded for the utility of the road, for the economy of the railroad, and in the interest of safety and human life. The railroads are now more prosperous than ever before. Their net earnings are greater. For the last fiscal year, the net earnings of the railroads of the South were approximately $3,500 per mile. They have already realized the duty which they owe to the public of removing this inconvenience and danger. They have begun the work, and should proceed with all possible expedition while the expense can be easily borne.

The authorities of the State have the right to compel the abolition of grade crossings. I do not mean that the whole evil should be remedied at once. Due consideration should be given to the transportation companies, but in the location and the building of our highways we should avoid the grade crossings. The State Highway Commission might designate, after consultation with the Corporation Commission and with the companies, what crossings should be abolished.

Through the Highway Commission, the State is enabled to receive the benefits of the Federal Aid Road Bill, which places at our disposal for road construction $115,000 for the present year, and an increasing amount for each succeeding

year. One of the provisions of this Federal Act is that funds must be provided for the maintenance of roads upon which the Federal money is expended. The State must therefore provide a maintenance fund if we are to take advantage of this Federal aid, and co-operate with the Federal Government.

It has been the recognized policy of the State to aid in the construction of certain railroads in the Piedmont Section and across the Blue Ridge Mountains. Convicts have been furnished to the Statesville Air Line Railway, the Elkin & Alleghany Railway, and to the Watauga & Yadkin Valley Railway. These convicts are not paid for in cash, but as authorized by law, are paid for in stock of the companies. This stock has no market value. But the consideration is not the value of the stock, but the value to the State of that magnificent country west of the Blue Ridge. These railroads, when built, will connect that country with the State. In trade and commercial intercourse, it is cut off from North Carolina by impassable mountains and has been forced to trade with the cities of Virginia, and send to them its valuable products. This is a section with a splendid destiny. We need its fertile lands and vast forests. It is equal in beauty and natural richness to the famous Southwestern Virginia Section which it adjoins. As a matter of justice to the patriotic citizenship that dwells in the counties of Alleghany, Ashe and Watauga, the State should aid in securing for them railroad transportation for their development and for our mutual benefit.

At the beginning of my administration, freight was hauled from the North and the Northwest through the State of North Carolina and delivered to the cities of Virginia at a lower rate than the carriers would stop this same class of freight and deliver it to the cities of North Carolina. By this lower rate, the merchants of Virginia were enabled to sell goods in the State of North Carolina cheaper than the merchants of North Carolina could sell the same class of goods at their very doors. Business was obliged to leave the State. The cities of Virginia flourished at our expense.

The Federal Government had jurisdiction of this question. The injustice was indefensible. The people of North Carolina

had borne it for many years. In 1913, this unjust discrimination was remedied to a large extent. Public opinion was the compelling power. It found expression through the Just Freight Rate Association, and encouragement in a General Assembly that was ready to go to the limit to compel justice and secure the rights of the people of North Carolina. Earnest men held meetings in various cities. The wrong was exposed, the General Assembly was called in extra session. The difficulties were great, and while complete equity was not obtained, the remedy was substantial. Under present conditions, North Carolina wholesale merchants have the advantage in our territory over competitors in any other State.

By this extra session of the General Assembly of 1913, a statute was passed for the reduction of intrastate freight rates. In accordance with the power conferred upon the Governor, a Commission was appointed to fix transportation charges within the State. The report of this Commission was accepted by the people, by the carriers, and by the General Assembly. The railroads have sought before the Interstate Commerce Commission to raise some of our State schedules, but in all controversies the State has prevailed, and the rates fixed by the Commission are now established.

By the reduction of interstate rates and intrastate rates, our people have saved by careful estimate $2,000,000 a year. The spirit of progress has been relieved from unjust oppression. Commercial and industrial enterprises have been encouraged and established. A prosperity has come that could not have resulted under former conditions.

There is another phase of this subject that I would impress upon this General Assembly, upon the Corporation Commission and upon the people of the State. Freight originating in North Carolina going to the States south of us is subjected to the same tariff as the same class of freight originating in Virginia. North Carolina is entitled to a decided advantage upon all such merchandise. The haul is much shorter. Making all fair allowances, this freight originating in North Carolina going south should bear an average tariff of twenty cents less on the hundred pounds. There is no justification

for fixing the same tariff upon south-bound freight for the two States, when the Virginia freight must be hauled through the State of North Carolina. We are entitled to the advantage of our geographical situation, and we should not rest content until this unjust discrimination be corrected. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

In recent years, the railroads have manifested a disposition and a desire to treat the people with fairness and to conduct and to regulate their business in accordance with a well conceived public sentiment. Their managers are men of patriotism and broad views. I hope for the continuation of peace and co-operation between the people and the carriers for actual welfare in just regard to all concerned.

The State has done well. She is just emerging into her strength. Destiny calls. She can accomplish vastly more. Higher things demand to be done. To the energy, the faith and genius of our people, the future is unfolding in sublime revelation.

"But, oh, not the hills of Habersham,
And, oh, not the valleys of Hall.
Avail: I am fain for to water the plain.
Downward the voices of Duty call—
Downward, to toil and be mixed with the main
The dry fields burn, and the mills are to turn,
And a myriad flowers mortally yearn,
And the lordly main from beyond the plain
Calls o'er the hills of Habersham,
Calls through the valleys of Hall."

But material development is not the object of man's highest endeavor. Life, not economics, is the purpose of society—the ultimate aim of civilization. All wealth and all laws and all government must have as their purpose a fuller and a finer life, a better social order. In the day of our prosperity, we must not forget our institutions of learning. We must not forget the places where children and men and women are educated to the higher conceptions. I do not like our boast that we are running the cheapest university, and the cheapest normal schools in the world. We need the best in

the world. These institutions have done splendid and indispensable work. They must grow or we go backward. Hope must not be denied to aspiring youth. Who can estimate the worth of our university, the normal schools, the denominational colleges, the public schools? Our intellectual and moral growth must be commensurate with our material growth. We rejoice that the old log school houses have disappeared, that now in every community there is a school building, the pride of that community, and equal to the college buildings of the days of our childhood. These measure the efficiency of the school. The patriotic citizens of North Carolina willingly pay taxes for the education of the young. They are not willing that our educational institutions should not develop with the increasing demands of the age. Facilities must be provided for the boys and girls in North Carolina who are eager for the strength and equipment of life.

During my administration, every institution in this State and every Department of the State Government has been subjected to the most thorough investigation. Everything has been uncovered. No dishonesty has been anywhere found. The Board of Internal Improvements has done its work fearlessly and without favoritism. The institutions are of the highest order.

We are expending hundreds of thousands of dollars every year in taking care of the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind and the feeble-minded. This is an obligation that no State can avoid. For if in the days of our good fortune we do not remember them, our hearts would be hardened and our land would be accursed. And when, according to the plan of the last General Assembly, we build the new school for the blind, let us not be more niggardly to them than any other State.

The Jackson Training School for youthful derelicts is doing a noble work. Humane consideration for wayward boys demands its enlargement.

We have not forgotten the soldiers of the Confederacy. We have provided for them a home, clean and comfortable, kept in a high state of efficiency. These veterans are fast

disappearing. They are all disabled by age, and by the wounds and the hardships of war. Our privilege to help them is closing, for the captains and the soldiers are departing.

It is noble to provide for the sick and the afflicted, but the prevention of disease of mind and of body is the aim of the higher and wiser humanity. This is the task for modern pathology. Men and women and children suffer and die from causes that can be removed. They are deaf and dumb and are stricken with blindness and insanity, condemned to lives of darkness and hopelessness, not by the inscrutable decrees of Providence, but by the failure of society to protect them against the enemy more cruel than death.

The State has no duty more imperative than the conservation and the promotion of health. Four years ago, the General Assembly passed the vital statistical law. It has done immense good in ascertaining the causes of disease and death. The work for the prevention of disease has been stimulated. The State Board of Health is waging a campaign of energy and intelligence against tuberculosis, typhoid fever and malaria, and such diseases that can be exterminated by intelligent and determined action. Many counties have employed health officers. They are doing good work, but as yet the health work is by the county as a unit. The conservation of health is not a local question. The State has an interest. The State Board of Health should have general supervision of this work, and each community should have the benefit of its expert knowledge and wide experience. This Board should have power to know by systematic reports the conditions and the work in each locality. Such correlation and publicity would increase efficiency and excite emulation of every health officer in the State. The State Board should be given the power to locate and reasonable means to prevent the spread of contageous diseases. Modern facilities for travel give wings to disease. Infantile paralysis, scarlet fever and other contagions may in a day be transported to distant counties for the establishment of new centers of infection, with dire calamity. The State Law provides no protection against this. The Federal Statute provides against

interstate contagion, but there is no State Statute to provide against intrastate contagion.

North Carolina has the largest birth rate as to white children of any State in the Union—more babies per capita than any other country. This "infant industry" deserves and demands protection. They are the most desirable immigrants—thoroughbred from Norman and Saxon sires.

During the last four years, the State's Prison has been successful beyond precedent. Above all expenses of every kind, it has earned for the State the net sum of $350,000. To the Superintendent of the Prison, the Board of Directors and their subordinates credit must be given for this result. The institution has been managed with ability, honesty, economy and in humane consideration for the prisoner. This money has been made for the State by the work of the prisoners on the State Farm, on the State Highways, on the railroads, and at the quarries and dams of the Yadkin River.

The making of money for the State is not the principal purpose of prison management. In this flood-tide of prosperity and plenty, the families of most of the prisoners were in need of food and raiment. In many instances women and children were destitute. The poor and little ones suffer in winter. To me it seemed just, and to the Prison Board it seemed just that out of the earings of the unfortunates a small amount be sent to their scanty, needy homes to relieve some distress, and as a testimonial of justice and sympathy. This seemed especially appropriate in these days of good-will and benevolence. Some may criticise this act as unauthorized, and object to it as an unsafe precedent, but if this General Assembly condemns it, every dollar of the money will be promptly returned. "Swear," said the captuous Roman tribune to the consul, "swear that you have observed the laws." "I swear," said the consul, "that I have served the Republic." And we too in this have obeyed the law of humanity and righteousness, and done the will of the people of North Carolina.

I hope that this General Assembly will by statute, consistent with the economic welfare of the Prison, provide for

some return to the dependent, needy families of prisoners in times of prosperity like these.

I do not believe in "coddling" criminals. Crime must be punished. Justice is stern. The innocent suffer for the sins of the guilty. It was so declared on Sanai. It is the inexorable decree. But the law grows "with the growing humanity of the age, and broadens with the process of the suns." At the final judgment, in divine commiseration may be spoken of us too: "I was in prison and ye ministered unto Me. * * * For inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me."

Out of the surplus already earned by the institution, this General Assembly, in obedience to the plainest duty, should allow and direct the Board of Directors to build on the Caledonia Farm a modern prison, equipped with appurtenances and appliances for the proper care, custody and training of the State's convicts. It seems to be the established policy of the State to maintain this farm as the place of penal servitude. The buildings there are not adequate, and no longer tolerable. I do not see the necessity for the continued maintenance of the Central Prison at Raleigh. The whole institution can be centralized at Caledonia.

During my term of office pardons and commutations have been granted to four hundred and twenty-eight persons convicted in the courts. Most of these convictions were for misdemeanors, and in many cases, judgments were pronounced in contemplation of a conditional pardon, with the object of restraining the offender from further violations of law. In my opinion such judgments are not in accordance with the proper administration of justice. It places upon the Executive the labor and the opportunity to accurately ascertain the facts. The courts might be invested with power to pronounce conditional and indeterminate sentences, but the judgments of the courts should be pronounced as a finality.

I have granted no pardon nor commutation except upon the conclusion, after most careful consideration, that justice and humanity demanded it. In each case, the facts have been fairly stated, with the reasons. The press of the State has

generally approved. The disappointment and sorrow of those whose petitions have been denied have touched me deeper than criticisms for judgments that to me seemed just and merciful.

During my term, seventeen men have been punished by death. I have spared human life unless the extreme penalty was justified by the evidence and demanded by the law.

On the 16th of last July, a great flood wrought disaster in Western North Carolina. There has been no such swell of waters since the country was settled by the white people. The flood gates of heaven were lifted and the deluge poured down. The sides of the mountains were torn loose. The valleys were flooded by raging torrents. Trees, crops, buildings, roads, railroads and the land itself were swept away. Animals could not escape, and many human beings were lost. The homes and fertile fields by the rivers were destroyed. The rich bottom lands of the Yadkin, the Catawba and tributaries were turned to desert waste.

In this overwhelming disaster the people were bewildered. They were for a time without food and shelter. When the extent of the calamity became known, the people of the State nobly responded. Eagerly, generously, they gave, not in the spirit of condescending charity, but in the discharge of an obligation to the unfortunate of their own race and kindred.

Edward E. Britton was made Chairman of the State Relief Committee. More than $45,000 have been received by him. Local Committees were organized in every county that had been stricken. Through the various local organizations at least $50,000 more have been contributed. All destitution was relieved. There has been no suffering. At present, there is money in the hands of the Chairman of the Committee in each county that has asked for relief. The leading men in the State offered their services without compensation, and went to carry relief and encouragement. Neighbors divided with the needy whatever they had, and throughout the State the finest spirit of sympathy was manifest in contributions by all classes of people.

The forests of North Carolina furnish annually a product

of immense value. On the coastal plain and in the mountains, we once had a forest and a timber supply unsurpassed in any country. A vast portion of this has disappeared by unwise and wasteful cutting. The pine of the east and the hardwood of the mountains would readily come again on our fertile soil if properly protected. The lumberman should be controlled by laws for the economic use of the forest. Destruction by fire should be prevented. Though the fairest part of this inheritance of ours is gone, much remains, and can be saved for this and the next generation. The sources of supply of the rivers that water the plains and turn the wheels of industry can be protected and conserved. Ruinous floods can be to a large extent prevented.

Under an Act of the General Assembly of 1915, the State has a clear title to about six hundred acres on and around the summit of Mount Mitchell. This area is covered with a virgin growth of luxuriant spruce or balsam. Around this section now owned by the State, the forest has been mowed down by the lumberman. The dry resinous debris is most inflammable. After the lumberman, conflagrations with terrific waste have swept these mountain areas, leaving the vast slopes of blackened desolation. But for the purchase by the State, the whole of Mount Mitchell would be a barren waste. Now, as far as this majestic mountain, the highest east of the Rockies, can be seen, the dark green of its summit is discernible above the ruin. A railroad runs from the town of Black Mountain to the edge of the park established by the State. Its terminus is about three-fourths of a mile from the top. Thousands of people visit this mountain during the summer. Each year multiplies the number. The State should recognize and regulate this railroad as a common carrier of passengers, and should confer upon the Governor the power to appoint a Commission composed of patriotic, interested citizens to serve without pay, for the protection and the management of the park on the summit of Mount Mitchell. General Julian S. Carr has consented to head a Committee for the building of a memorial to Dr. Elisha Mitchell upon this mountain. This insures a structure suitable to the solemnity and the majesty

of the sublime height, the most famous in Eastern America.

The General Assembly of 1915 enacted a law for the regulation of the fishing industry and for the conservation of the fish of Eastern North Carolina. Our waters have been and are the source of a valuable food supply. They have been wastefully exploited and the yield largely diminished. But by wise and economic management, conditions will improve and the fishing industry be restored for the welfare of the whole State, and the eastern section especially.

The law of 1915 has been administered by proficient men who have earnestly devoted themselves to the important work. Heretofore the subject has been dealt with as local, but now as one of State concern, properly under the jurisdiction of the State. These waters are not private property. Opposition has been encountered. The Fisheries Commission Board and executive officers have enforced the law firmly, but with discretion and consideration. The healthy public sentiment now approves. The people are coming to realize that this law is necessary for the protection of the fishing industry from destruction, for the ultimate good of the fishermen, and for the good of the public. We have the most valuable fishing waters on the Atlantic Coast, and must not allow them to be destroyed.

During the month of June, the National Guard was called to mobilize for the defense of the Southern Border and to meet the dangers that threatened. The soldiers of every company in the State willingly volunteered. Some went at much sacrifice, but they did not complain. At El Paso, under the command of Brigadier-General Laurence W. Young, they have distinguished themselves for discipline and for military training and efficiency. They have reflected credit upon the State in peace, and were ready with the courage and patriotism of their fathers to carry the flag to the farthest front of battle. The love and the admiration of the folks at home have been with them and we hope for their return as soon as their presence on the Rio Grande is no longer demanded.

It is unfortunate that those brave men in the service of their country were in the last election deprived of the right

of franchise. We need a statute to enable any citizen of this State to cast his vote when away from home by unavoidable necessity.

In this State, every citizen, every corporation, every legitimate enterprise, has had and should forever have the protection and the encouragement of just laws and fair and honest government. The civic purpose and effort has been to guarantee universal opportunity and the betterment of all the ranks of society.

And now we should remember with devout gratitude that we dwell in this land of freedom, of prosperity, and peace. With the Hebrew poet we can say:

"How goodly are thy tents, oh, Jacob; and thy tabernacles, oh, Israel!"

In this time of war and confusion, our Nation has stood for the law of civilization, for the freedom of the seas, for the rights of American citizens in all lands. Every American demand has been acknowledged, and every American right has been conceded. The Schoolmaster of Princeton College has become the world teacher of a new diplomacy. His dogmas of righteousness are more powerful than forty-two centimeter guns. He has dictated to militant kings and emperors the principles of humanity, and has exalted the majesty of justice above all thrones.

The countries across the Atlantic are consumed by the vast conflagration of desolation, Europe is crushed and bleeding. The flower of her men have been destroyed, and are halt and maimed and blind and maniac by the savage weapons of this war. All her women and children are in mourning. Lurid, ghastly and relentless War still strikes and strikes with unabated fury and reaps his boundless harvest of death and destruction. Thus far we have been spared. We have been spared through the wisdom, the patience, the steadfast courage, of this great servant of God—reserved for a supreme duty, when the fullness of time shall come.

When the peoples that drink the cup of trembling in the horror of great darkness shall behold the dawn of the coming day, Woodrow Wilson will stand forth as the Prophet, and the Arbiter of the Peace of Righteousness for the World, to point the nations to the higher way of truth and freedom, to turn the hearts of the disobedient, to the Wisdom of the Just.

THE account of his stewardship rendered, through his farewell message to the General Assembly, his trust discharged with honor to himself and the State, Governor Craig turned over the affairs of his office to his duly elected successor early in January, 1917. It was a typical January day. The skies were overcast, and the chill penetrating—the Governor broken in health. His great public service had been rendered. His promises had been brought to fruition. He had kept the faith. Again he came before his people, and again his beautiful voice rang out in the place where cheering thousands had gathered for his inauguration four years before:

"By authority of the People of North Carolina,
And of the General Assembly, Mr. Chief Justice,
I present to you Thomas Walter Bickett,
Governor-Elect, and ask that you administer to him
The oath of office."

ASHEVILLE'S WELCOME HOME TO LOCKE CRAIG

(January 12th, 1917)

NOTE: On his return, the people of Asheville gathered at the Majestic Theatre to welcome their Governor and his family back home. They presented him with a beautiful service of silver, and there were cordial welcoming addresses from prominent citizens. The following account is from The Asheville Times, though only a part of it can be found:

Asheville gave Governor Craig a royal as well as a neighborly and hearty welcome when he arrived in the city Friday.

Southern Passenger Train No. 15 was late—reaching the station close to the noon hour. A goodly company of representative citizens were ready to grasp the hand of Locke Craig and speak their joy at his home coming. There was no blare of trumpets—no noise of drum—but the dignity of the occasion was present. It was the return of an esteemed citizen, who had been away for a time at the call of his State, one who had honored his community and section with efficient service.

Surrounded by friends, men of varied stations, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, physicians and preachers, Governor Craig and Mrs. Craig were escorted to the waiting car and followed by the reception party directly to the Majestic Theatre where the formal reception followed.

Locke Craig, Jr., was the first to start the cheering in the Majestic Theatre. Sitting in Judge Phil. C. Cocke's arms, he saw his father on the stage, surrounded by members of the Reception Committee, and called out to him, and then gave a boyish yell of greeting. The audience broke into applause.

The splendid tributes of the speakers were frequently interrupted by cheering, and the Governor was given a rousing ovation when he rose to reply.

Locke, Jr., did not know that he was to figure largely in

the speechmaking, but he did. Dr. Winston paid Mrs. Craig, an eloquent tribute. Thomas J. Harkins presented the chest of silver and the silver water set. Part of this testimonial was on the stage during the exercises.

When the curtain rose at 12:30 o'clock, the orchestra struck up "Are You From Dixie?" and the audience gave the distinguished guest a round of enthusiastic applause. Judge J. D. Murphy, General Chairman of the Committee for the Reception of the Governor, then delivered the following address:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: Four years ago Governor Craig left Asheville to enter the service of the State as Chief Executor, upheld by the prayers, and followed by the good wishes, of the people of Buncombe County and Western North Carolina.

"Today, he returns to us to receive the welcome plaudits, 'Well done, good and faithful servant'; you have fought a good fight, you have kept faith with the people, you have served the State's best interests, you have done justly, you have loved mercy, you have walked humbly among your people; henceforth there is laid up for you a crown of the love and esteem of the people of a great Commonwealth to whose service you have devoted your talents and energies.

"May I be permitted to say that one of the most widely known public men in this State, recently told me in a private conversation that Governor Craig was one of the purest and best men he had ever known. Another gentleman, high in official life in this State, remarked in my presence recently that Governor Craig was one among the most unselfish men he had ever known. Such are the impressions left upon the people of the State by our distinguished fellow-townsman.

"Buncombe County has given this Commonwealth three great Governors, who have glorified her annals and adorned her history, who have presided over her destinies in epochal and distinctive periods—David Lowry Swain, Zebulon Baird Vance, and Locke Craig—men who tower among men as does Mount Mitchell, Mount Pisgah and Craggy Mountain, among our mountain peaks—men whose record of achievement and

service to the people of the Commonwealth, will ever shed a gentle and beneficent radiance to lighten the pathway of men through the coming time.

"It is now my pleasure to present to you our distinguished and scholarly fellow-townsman, Dr. George T. Winston, who will deliver an address of welcome to Governor Craig in behalf of our people."

Judge Murphy also read extracts from a letter he had received from a prominent North Carolinian who paid a tribute to the Ex-Governor as an orator and a public servant who had labored with brilliant success for the welfare of his State. Dr. Winston spoke, in substance, as follows:

"To speak words of welcome to you, Governor Craig, is as useless a superfluity as to add perfume to the violet or color to the rose. Wherever North Carolina is mentioned, men think of you. The welcome of the people of Asheville and Western North Carolina is written in their hearts today and is proclaimed in their faces. If I should tell you how much we love you, our wives would be jealous. You, of noble heart and brain, you who have achieved so well for the welfare of the State, we welcome home. We welcome ourselves to your midst, instead of you to our midst.

"This occasion is not only a personal welcome. Your cares have been a part of the progress and development of this Commonwealth. Lincoln said that no man had a right to govern any other man without that man's consent. For four years you have governed North Carolina with the consent and loyalty of 2,000,000 people.

"You have introduced a new system of government in dealing with crime. You have adopted kindness instead of force and violence and in your Christmas remembrance of the convicts you have set a precedent that future Governors will follow. In recommending that some of the profits of the convicts' labor should go to the support of their families you will be supported by the people, whatever peanut politicians may say.

"You have helped to establish a great National Forest Reserve here for the people of the United States and you

alone led the way for the location of a great State Park in the mountains. You have launched the movement for the building of a monument on Mount Mitchell that will be worthy of the sainted bones of Elisha Mitchell who lost his life exploring the peak. You have established a State Highway Commission and stretched great highways across the Blue Ridge. You have enriched rural life.

"I do not know how many of your good deeds were inspired by your better half.

"When you became Governor, you said to the people, 'All that I have is yours.' We now say to you, 'All that we have is yours.' This is your recall by referendum of your people."

Judge Murphy then introduced Mr. Harkins, who in the name of the people of Asheville presented the Governor with an elaborate chest of silver and a silver water set. Mr. Harkins said:

"Governor Craig: After four years' devotion to the service of the people as Governor of our Commonwealth, you have returned to live with us again in good old Asheville, and the hearts of our people are gladdened. We rejoice that we shall again, for many uninterrupted years we hope, enjoy the privilege of your daily associations.

"Four years ago," replied the Governor, in substance, "I was inaugurated with Military and State ceremony. Of course I valued that demonstration. And while I have been Governor I have received many honors from people from all sections, at home and elsewhere. But no testimonial of esteem, no honor I have received, has touched me as has this welcome from my own people. Your friendship and trust means millions of times more to me than all the encomiums and honors bestowed."

* * * * * * * *

GOVERNOR CRAIG had heretofore had an iron constitution, but his untiring labors for his party, and for the advancement of the State, followed by the arduous duties of the Governor's office, had drawn upon his reserve strength to such an extent, that he returned home an invalid—

wounded in battle for the public weal, and accepting the penalty inflicted as a true soldier would.

Soon the World War swept the country into its vortex, and carried with the Colors his three sons, Carlyle, George, and Arthur. Governor Craig, though eager to go with them, was only able to urge them on, while he himself gave inspiration to the parting hosts in words of encouragement and cheer.

It is to be regretted that no notes can be found of his speech at the Auditorium Mass Meeting in Asheville at the beginning of the war; nor of his speech bidding farewell to the local members of the now famous Old Hickory Division, delivered from the portico of the County Court House. His speech to the first contingent of the National Army, later to become a part of the Wildcat Division, is taken from The Asheville Citizen, and follows:

TO THE DEPARTING SOLDIERS

Speech Delivered From The Portico Of The Pack Memorial Library, On Pack Square, Sept. 20th, 1917.

NOTE: The demonstration on Pack Square that preceded the departure to the station, eclipsed anything of the kind ever attempted in Asheville. Fully eight thousand people deserted homes, business and dinners to gather around and pay a parting tribute to the young men who are to "help make the world safe for democracy." Everything passed off just as it was planned, except the crowd and the enthusiasm. These surpassed all expectations.

* * * * * * * *

Next followed the principal address of the afternoon, delivered by former Governor Locke Craig, who was introduced by Mr. Frank M. Weaver, President of the Chamber of Commerce. The Governor said, in part:

"This is a day long to be remembered in history—in our local history—in universal history. It is a day significant with the destiny of the world. On this day throughout the vast domain of the Republic, the strong and valiant youth of America are leaving home to constitute the grandest army that ever marched, to fight for the grandest cause 'ever proclaimed by the trumpet, or pleaded by the sword.'

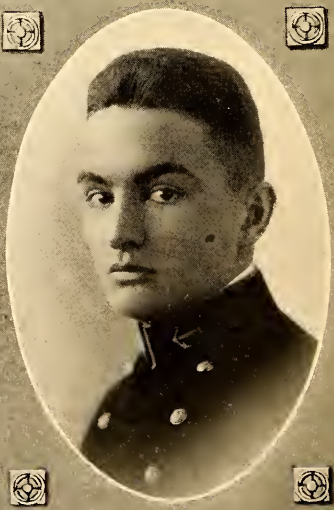
"You, my own young friends, sons of my neighbors, are making this day historic and constituting this army. You are no longer the civilian boys, but you are the soldiers of the Republic.

"I congratulate you that in this mighty day you are to occupy the place of honor; that you are to carry the flag to the front in the battle line that is defending civilization against Goths and Huns and Mohammedans; that you are to unhorse the savage militarism that would ride down and slay, and overrun the earth that you are to establish the order in which civilization may, with security, beat its defensive sword into a plowshare, in which nations in trustful federation and

LT. CARLYLE CRAIG
U.S.N.

GEORGE WINSTON CRAIG

LOCKE CRAIG JR.



LT. ARTHUR BURGIN CRAIG
U.S.N.

co-operation may develop and achieve in permanent peace without the burden of armies and armaments. Blessed are you in all generations.

"From the sanctuary of every home, from the altar of every temple, whether it be the grand cathedral, or the little church in the heart of the remotest mountains, petitions will constantly go up to our Heavenly Father for your safety and your welfare. You will never be forgotten by the folks at home. They will watch with hope and faith and prayer for your safe return. But above that, we depend with unfaltering faith that at the front you will do a soldier's part, that you will remember the obligations to home, that you are the custodians of the honor of your country, that you will glorify this country by the pure manhood of your lives, and by the courage that never wavers.

"The Spartan mother delivered the shield to her son going to war with the injunction, 'Return with it, my son, or upon it.' Remembering this mother's command, the last dying soldier wrote upon his shield at Thermopylae, 'Go tell at Lacedemon that we died in obedience to her law.' If you should fall, let it be beneath the folds of the advancing flag. The Archangel will tell before God's judgment seat that you died in obedience to His Law.

"On this day, my friends, when we dedicate these young men to the holy cause of this war, let us dedicate and consecrate ourselves anew, that we may be worthy of them, and of their heroism and sacrifice.

"For you, my young friends, for us all, a mighty day has dawned, a day of crisis and of altruistic awakening.

"You are going across the far seas, but you will be convoyed safely by the battleships and cruisers and dreadnaughts of the Republic. You will look upon the vine-clad hills of heroic France, and of fair lands and cities blasted and desolate by relentless, revengeful war. Weak and oppressed people, starving women and children, will stretch forth their hands in gratitude to you in the day of their deliverance. You will see the great captains of the world, and the great men of the world. You will march on battlefields immortalized by

Caesar, Clovis, Charlemaine and Napoleon. You will hear the tramp of embattled hosts and the sounds of falling cities. When bloody fields are won, you will behold the broken and retreating squadrons of the enemies of freedom. And I hope that over the broken ramparts in the day of triumph, some boy from Buncombe will carry the stars and stripes at the head of the victorious columns into the City of Berlin!

"We pray for the return of peace. 'O, let the bugles sound the truce of God to the whole world forever.' May the reign of the Prince of Peace be restored to all the kingdoms of this earth. But it will not be until the seven vials of God's wrath shall consume iniquity, and shall destroy all dynasties and injustice of privilege. From the conflagration of this war must come a purified civilization with a higher social order, that shall guarantee to all mankind their inalienable rights according to the everlasting Covenant of God.

"When you shall return, my young friends, in that immortal day we will welcome you with universal acclaim, and honor you and your children as the soldiers of the great struggle for the liberation and for the redemption of mankind."

THE CASE OF THE RAILWAY COMPANIES VERSUS STATE COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE, ET AL.

Argument By Hon. Locke Craig Before The District Court Of The United States, January, 1922.

NOTE: The State won this case, involving millions of dollars in revenue. Governor Craig presented his argument by brief, and his forceful presentation of the case for the defendants, shows his great power as an advocate, and his clear reasoning ability.

May it please the Court, I appreciate the honor and the responsibility of my participation in this great trial by this High Court of Equity.

When I consider the learning, the ability and the experience of the judges who constitute this tribunal, I approach the discussion with embarrassment. But I do feel the profound conviction of the righteousness of our cause. I know that it will be presented in eloquence and power by my eminent associates, and will receive from the Court the consideration demanded by this issue, involving as it does constitutional questions, and the administration of the affairs of the State.

The partisan zeal of ordinary litigation is overshadowed here by the universal desire for a just judgment. The Plaintiffs are the public carriers of our traffic, and constitute the arteries of our commerce between ourselves and between us and the civilized world. The Defendant is Alston D. Watts, who represents in his official capacity every man, woman and child in the State. Their collective will and conscience constitute the sovereign majesty of the State. And the State desires, above all other considerations, justice and equity for all her citizens, corporate and individual. She realizes that justice is the handmaid of security and patriotism, that plenty and prosperity follow in her train.

Resistance to taxation is not without precedent with

English and American people. It has been the issue in the front line of the defense and development of their constitutional liberty. The tyrannical imposition of an unjust tax cost Charles the First his head, and George the Third would not profit by his example. In our day, resistance by violence has ceased, for in the evolution of the English Law, our Court of Equity is the tribunal before which all grievances may be redressed in this day of peace. And the decrees of our Courts of Equity have commanded the dutiful obedience of good citizens, for the extraordinary power of this Court has from time immemorial been continuously exercised by chancellors with a clear conception of the processes and relations of our governmental system, guided by the precedents and the wisdom of the masters of English Jurisprudence. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Irwin v. Dixon, 9th Howard, 33, has termed this "a transcendent and extraordinary power, and is therefore to be used sparingly, and only in a clear and plain case."

Shaffer v. Carter, 252 U. S., 37;
Coulter v. Louisville & Nashville R. R. Co., 196 U. S., 599.

And in Cavanaugh v. Looney, 240 U. S., 453, the Supreme Court says that the injunction should not be granted, "unless in a case reasonably free from doubt, and to prevent great and irreparable injury."

While it is the duty of patriotism to resist taxation clearly unjust, it is equally the duty of patriotism to submit to just taxation. We concede to the Plaintiffs the right to resist the payment of a tax, when strongly convinced of its injustice, but for reasons just as compelling is it the duty of the State to enforce the payment of all taxes that are just. If the Plaintiffs shall avoid any part of the taxes laid upon them by the duly constituted authorities of the State in the necessary administration of her government, this additional burden must be borne by the people. For their protection, and in justice to them it is imperative upon the State to uphold her acts in their defense, in equity and for the common good.

For a quarter of a century the conviction has prevailed in North Carolina that property was improperly assessed for taxation, and that taxes were not levied in accord with new conditions to meet the obligations of an enlightened and advancing State.

The defects of our tax system became more pronounced and more intolerable. In 1919, the General Assembly, under the leadership of Governor Bickett and statesmen of experience and patriotism, determined to reform the antiquated and discredited conditions. For this and other noble service, North Carolina will keep in affectionate memory this Governor who devoted himself to the State with a splendid conception of her destiny, and of his high trust.

The Plaintiffs contend that in the revaluation provided by the General Assembly of 1919, their property was assessed for taxation at a value that is excessive.

By this revaluation the value of railroad property in the State was increased from about 40 per cent to 100 per cent. The property of the Coast Line was increased from $34,645,345 to $50,867,800; the property of the Seaboard Air Line was increased from $20,191,720 to $34,768,440; and the property of the Southern Railway from $46,869,942 to $96,306,357. The Norfolk & Southern applied to the Commissioner of Revenue and secured a reduction of $4,000,000 in its assessment. It seems to have gotten about all it asked from the State authorities and yet it is not at all backward in coming forward to ask for more. The value of the real estate in this State was increased fully 200 per cent. Prior to the revaluation, the Southern Railway Company and $46,000,000 of the real estate bore equal parts of the burden of ad valorem taxes. By the revaluation the Southern Railway property was assessed as $96,000,000, and this same real estate at $140,000,000. Now, except as modified slightly by the horizontal reductions, they bear the burden in the ratio of 96 to 140. Yet the Southern Railway is resisting. The landowner is submitting. The ratio of the increase of the burden of taxation was much more favorable to the other railroads of the State than to the Southern, and yet these

other railroads are resisting, while the landowners are submitting. The real estate in North Carolina was all assessed on an average by the 200 per cent increase, and bears accordingly the increased proportion of the burden.

The equitable assessment between citizens depends on the relative valuation, and this relative value determines the portion of the burden to be borne.

When the value of railroad property for taxation was increased from 40 per cent to 100 per cent, and the value of real estate by 200 per cent, I submit that the railroads had no right to complain of excessive valuation. As a fact, the railroads paid less tax in 1920 under the new assessment than they did in 1919 under the old assessment. The Southern Railway paid $50,958.82 less under the new than the old assessment. The Atlantic Coast Line paid for the year 1919, $680,811.89; for the year 1920, $489,686.79; that is, this Plaintiff paid nearly $200,000 less tax in 1920 under the new assessment than it did in 1919 under the old assessment, and yet this Plaintiff was paying this tax under protest, while the landholders of North Carolina were bearing the greater proportion of the tax burden willingly and without a protest. In the face of commanding facts like these, how can these Plaintiffs allege that their property was over-assessed for taxation, and how can they justify themselves before the fair-thinking people of North Carolina, and how can they come before this Court of Equity and ask that the processes of the State Government be stopped by "the transcendent and extraordinary power to be used sparingly and only in a clear and plain case?" Irwin v. Dixon, supra.

This complaint comes too late. A decree to the effect that the assessment of railroad property is excessive and inequitable involves the conclusion that for many years North Carolina has taxed her property by systematic and continued injustice, and has done this by the acquiescense of the railroads for a quarter of a century. General Assemblies have biennially met, and Courts of Equity have always been open. Not a complaint from the Plaintiffs on account of excessive valuation until the year 1921, when their property has been

increased from 40 per cent to 100 per cent, and the landed property of the State 200 per cent. By this assessment and revaluation, the railroads were relieved of one-third of the burden of ad valorem taxation compared with the land, and that proportion of the burden theretofore borne by them was placed by this re-assessment upon the land.

They now ask this Court to issue a decree that would be tantamount to a condemnation of the administration of our government for a quarter of a century, that would set at naught as ineffectual and unrighteous the system of our taxation carefully devised by the General Assembly of 1919 and 1921 in an earnest and an honest effort to meet the just requirements of our time; a decree which would relieve the carriers from taxation which they should bear, and place this burden with increased proportion upon the shoulders of the people; a decree which would relatively decrease the taxation of the railroads, and in the same proportion relatively increase the tax upon the people.

If any class of people in this State have the right to complain and to invoke the strong arm of a Court of Equity for relief, the land owners have that right. Their property has been increased three-fold in value for taxation. They have borne their burden in financial stress and in the presence of impending calamity with patience and patriotism, and have not attempted to interfere with the processes of government. There are a half-million land owners in North Carolina that have a far better right to complain of this re-assessment than have the railroads in North Carolina, as the assessment now stands. If they were as swift to enjoin the collection of taxes as the railroads, the government would have to suspend—the courts would be crowded with a half million of litigants.

But it may be contended that heretofore real estate has been valued too low, and has not paid its pro rata share of taxes as compared with the railroad; that the revaluation of 1920 was therefore not as great an increase in accordance with value as the increase in the value of railroads.

In consideration of such contention, I appeal to the higher

understanding of Your Honors, that comes of your association and environment, and human sympathy—the understanding that illumines the learning and the conscience of every great chancellor and law giver. The land of North Carolina has been an inheritance sacred in tradition and rich in hope, but not an inheritance of wealth. The farms of North Carolina have been tilled by a frugal and industrious people. They have been the homes of virtue and strength, with opportunity to labor and to earn bread by the sweat of the brow.

Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," declares that the first maxim of taxation is: "Subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State."

The Department of Agriculture, in an estimate from the consideration of 160,000 American farms, makes the statement that the annual rental value of the farm is 3.54 per cent, and that does not take into consideration the taxes that are paid. I feel sure that the annual net rent of the farms of North Carolina does not amount to more than this per cent of their tax value. To show the conditions under which the people of North Carolina live, and as indicating the value of their homes and farms, it is stated by the Department of Agriculture that only 25 per cent of the farmers have running water in their homes. Really, they do not have, as they should have, the advantages and conveniences of modern civilization. They earn for themselves no high salaries, and live without extravagances and luxury.

The farmers and their families work from childhood on, and if the sons and daughters have the benefits of a college education, it is generally by self-denial and sacrifice at home. This shows the value of the farm property of the State. I know that there are some farms that are an exception to this rule, but the farmers and their wives generally in the State live plain and dress plain because they have to.

The farmer women may spend more on their backs than is sometimes customary in fashionable circles, but at least their overhead expenses are not so great!

Here there are no "Rajahs with white parasols and elephants mad with pride." Here there is no princely compensation for continuous labor. Here wealth does not accumulate and men do not decay.

For fifty years the people of North Carolina have been a comparatively poor people, and the farms have been comparatively poor as money-making agencies, but through all the years of hardship and financial stress, the people have never uttered a note of disloyalty to their government, it mattered not what political party was in the ascendency. She has been a land of sorrows and acquainted with grief, but we rejoice that she is coming through the travail of toil and hardship into this better day.

It may be that taxes in North Carolina will be increased, but the fear of this increase does not justify the Plaintiffs before this Court. They should be increased if necessary. We have heretofore paid less taxes than any civilized country on earth. Our government has been good and pure. It has been too cheap. Able officials have been niggardly paid for the best kind of service. Our public institutions have been supplied with a parsimonious hand. But North Carolina is no longer the puny child that suckles the dry breast. We have cleared new fields. The land responds with increasing harvests to the faith of the sower. We build new cities and enlarge the old. We are harnessing the cateracts to the dynamos, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth there stream the volts of infinite energy to illuminate the darkness and drive the myriad wheels of industry.

There was and there is the aspiration surging in the people of North Carolina—there is the divine command to the conscience of North Carolina that this mighty industrial power and progress shall be expressed in nobler opportunities and higher social conditions; in good roads for the correlation of the communities, the utilization of the instrumentalities of modern civilization; in efficient public schools for the best and finest intellectual development; and hospitals for the rescue and for the grateful refuge of our kindred who suffer in sore affliction.

The General Assembly has provided the ways and means in a just consideration of the right of all.

It is well established by authority and by reason that this Court has no power to review or to reduce the assessment made by the constituted authorities of the State of North Carolina, unless it appear to the Court that such assessment is in violation of constitutional right, or not in accordance with the directions of the statute, or that the assessment is inequitable by reason of a general and systematic understanding expressed or implied.

Shaffer v. Carter, supra;
Legal Tender Cases, 12 Wallace, 457;
Magoun v. Ill. Trust & Savings Bk., 170 U. S., 293;
St. Louis R. R. Co. v. Arkansas, 235 U. S., 350;
L. & N. R. R. Co. v. Greene, 244 U. S.

We contend that the Plaintiffs have not set forth in their complaint facts sufficient to justify the interference by this Court on any of the grounds above stated.

They have not alleged that there was an unlawful combination and design to overvalue their property.

They have not alleged that there was any general or systematic understanding, expressed or implied, to do them any injustice.

They could not make this allegation, for such would be an unwarranted attack upon the officials of the State of North Carolina. After long consideration and careful preparation they have not made this allegation before this Court.

The allegation in the complaint that the Plaintiffs adduced before the Revenue Commissioners facts "showing that said valuation was in excess of the true value, actual value of the property," is not conclusive. We assume that the Plaintiffs present here and now for the consideration and determination of this Court, all of the facts and arguments germane to this cause.

Plaintiffs do not complain of the constitutional provisions

of North Carolina, nor of the statutory provisions directing and regulating assessment for taxation, but they do complain and allege that the valuation of their property is predicated upon an income that is excessive, and that in arriving at the value by this method, the Tax Commission did not obey the statute. Hence a defective result.

The Southern Railway Company alleges that the Tax Commission fixed its income at $6,117,625; that its income in North Carolina is not this much. This Plaintiff admits that this amount of income was ascertained by deducting operating expenses and taxes in North Carolina from operating revenue in North Carolina. There can be no question that this is the proper and natural method to ascertain the net revenue in North Carolina. It is the method prescribed by statute. The Machinery Act of 1921 directs the Tax Commission to determine the value of Plaintiff's property by due consideration of the gross earnings as compared with operating expenses with other acts affecting value.

Plaintiff does not contend that in this method there is any error in the statement of its operating revenue in North Carolina, but does contend that there is error in the statement of the amount of its operating expenses in the State.

If there was error in the amount of these operating expenses, the Plaintiff, Southern Railway, as well as the other Railroad Plaintiffs, are responsible for this error. It admits, states in the complaint, that in its report made in accordance with law, it reported to the State Tax Commission the amount of operating expenses used by the Commission as a factor in ascertaining its net revenue. The Tax Commission took the figures from the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff admits now that the operating expenses reported to the Tax Commission are the actual expenses incurred in North Carolina in the conduct of its business, but says in its complaint that the report made to the Tax Commission was erroneous in that the operating expenses in North Carolina were understated—that there are terminal expenses outside of the State which rightfully should be charged to North Carolina in determining the amount of its net revenue in this State.

We conceive the Plaintiff to be an "organic unity," with correlated lines and terminals. The terminal expenses of transportation are a part of the cost of transportation as certainly as the expenses of driving the locomotive and operating the trains.

The expense of transporting any merchandise should be apportioned to each State in or through which such merchandise is transported in perfect equity if possible—not with mathematical precision, for that is not feasible, except by the elimination of elements of expense and value which should be considered under the varied conditions and complicated problems of transportation. Especially should these differences in value of Plaintiff's lines in this State be considered where the cost of construction was immensely greater and where the lines are much more valuable on account of the larger volume of traffic.

The initial terminal expenses in carrying, for example, a carload of peaches from Atlanta to Winston-Salem is a legitimate part of the cost of transportation. And so is the initial terminal expense of a carload of tobacco from Winston-Salem to Atlanta. Under the present method of allocation which has been used by the Plaintiff, and is still in use, the former expense is charged to Georgia, and all the latter expense to North Carolina. This method we must conclude from the complaint is applied to the transportation of all merchandise. That is, the terminal expenses are charged to the State in which they actually occur.

Now, assuming, as stated in the complaint of the Southern Railway Company, page 19, "(a) that the traffic which moves through the State of North Carolina greatly exceeds the traffic originating in or destined to North Carolina," and, "(b) that the terminal expenses on traffic originating or destined to North Carolina are very much less than those without the State," it does not follow from this allegation that North Carolina escapes its equitable proportion of terminal expenses. The Plaintiff does not state the amount of terminal expenses incurred in North Carolina and in other States, and does not show to the Court the proportion between the

North Carolina terminal expenses and traffic in North Carolina. It may be impossible to do this on account of the many complications.

The traffic originating in North Carolina, as alleged in this paragraph, is certainly less than the traffic originating in all the other States served by the Plaintiff, and therefore its terminal expenses are less than all other terminal expenses as alleged in the complaint. The same is true of the traffic destined to North Carolina, or passing through, and North Carolina is charged with no such expenses on this larger amount of traffic, and of course should not be charged with any such expense.

"While it may be true that under such a plan so employed the result is a showing that the ratio of operating expenses to operating revenues in North Carolina is less than that of the entire system," as alleged in complaint, we deny that this ratio is less than it justly and equitably should be. There are no facts set forth in the complaint that logically contravert this position.

The Plaintiff suggests, on page 20, a method by which to arrive at its actual operating expenses and money value in North Carolina. It suggests the capitalization of the net revenue of the whole system and the apportionment of a part of this value to North Carolina on a mileage basis. That would be manifestly unjust, for that would assume that each and every mile of all the lines of the Plaintiff has identically the same value. This conclusion, we assume the Court will not entertain in view of the expensive construction and larger traffic in North Carolina.

The Plaintiff admits, on page 20, that on a gross earnings basis, its property is worth $78,004,769, and on a mileage basis it is worth $71,267,994. These figures themselves show the greater importance of the Plaintiff's North Carolina property and its greater value.

The Plaintiff's other suggestion as a method by which to ascertain its total value in the State is by the capitalization of its total net revenue in all of the States combined, and apportion to North Carolina its pro rata part of this greater

total value on a gross earnings basis. The injustice of this suggestion is as manifest as the other suggestion. It eliminates from the problem the more economic handling of large volumes of traffic, and the expensive construction and importance of the lines through Piedmont and Western North Carolina.

The Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, shows in its complaint that North Carolina furnishes for transportation more merchandise—more than its proportion of mileage. On the latter suggestion the value in North Carolina would be as above stated, greater on gross earnings than on mileage basis, showing a much larger value on gross earnings basis in North Carolina.

On the mileage basis by the method suggested by the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, at 6 per cent its total property in North Carolina, tangible and intangible, rolling stock, and all, should be assessed at $71,267,994 or $50,863 a mile, and if we consider the double tracks, it would be assessed at $47,300 a mile. On the gross earnings basis, it would be assessed at something more than $50,000 per mile. Neither of these assessments would accord with the value of the Plaintiff's property. They would not be just to the people of North Carolina, for it is known and recognized that the Plaintiff's property, tangible and intangible, with rolling stock, is far in excess of any such value, and that its replacement would cost several times that amount.

A large proportion of the traffic originating in North Carolina is of such a kind as not to require the ordinary initial expense; for example, lumber for the eastern markets, wood pulp, tobacco, furniture carried in large quantities by the carload, and by the trainload to eastern markets. These commodities are loaded by the shipper without any expense to the Plaintiff. North Carolina is credited with comparatively a small per cent of the revenue from these vast shipments, as in many instances they are hauled over short distances within this State into and through other States.

Considering the unprecedented growth and development of the State, her vast and varied industries contributing to the

lines of the Plaintiff, her increase in the products of the field and factory, the number and commercial importance of her many thriving cities and towns, it cannot be that with equity, she must bear not only all of her own terminal expenses of transportation, but must contribute to the terminal expenses of other States in which, as Plaintiff shows in its complaint, the volume of traffic is less and necessarily entailing larger expense in the initial handling thereof.

The method adopted by the Tax Commission to ascertain the net revenue of the Plaintiff is the natural method, the method adopted and used by the Plaintiff, when by the law it was required to furnish the Tax Commission a statement of its gross revenue in this State, its operating expenses and its net revenue. The Plaintiff itself stated its own net revenue to the Tax Commission.

For the first time the Plaintiffs complain of their own methods. They offer and can offer no substitute as fair as this method, established, approved by reason, and sanctioned by custom.

The Plaintiffs, Southern Railway and Atlantic Coast Line, object to the capitalization of their values at 6 per cent and contend that a just per cent by which to arrive at their values should be 8 per cent.

This is rather an astonishing contention in North Carolina, where from time immemorial, the legal rate of interest allowed is 6 per cent, and where in accordance with our experience and observation, the great majority of investors are fortunate if they can realize this 6 per cent clear of taxes, as has been credited to these companies.

We have seen that the farmers realize a rental of 3.54 per cent and must pay the tax beside.

If the Tax Commission adopted the 6 per cent in considering and estimating the value of these carriers, the judgment of the Tax Commission is final and cannot be reviewed. This point is expressly decided in L. & N. Railroad Company v. Greene, 244 U. S., 522.

In fixing the taxable value of the Plaintiffs, it was the duty of the Tax Commission to consider the market value of their

stocks and bonds. But in fairness and equity, it was not the duty of the Tax Commission to fix the taxable value of these carriers in accordance with the stock and bond method, when their securities were at the lowest on account of unprecedented depreciation in the value of securities.

On page 23, paragraph 6, of the complaint, the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, contends that in accordance with the figures found by the Bureau of Valuation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the property of the company should have been valued at $59,904,438, and the company avers this "to be the limit of true value in North Carolina for ad valorem taxing purposes, beyond which the Plaintiff's property should not be assessed." This Plaintiff seems to have forgotten that this amount does not include the value of the franchise, and this amount was arrived at by the Bureau of Valuation of the Interstate Commerce Commission from values as of June 30, 1914. Since then we know that all kinds of construction, the building of railroads and houses, have about doubled in cost.

The Southern Railway Company in its report to its stockholders for the year ending December 31, 1919, stated that the laying of a double track on a revised grade between Washington and Atlanta that was expected to cost $34,838,000, actually cost $52,134,000, on account of advancement in prices. This was the cost of the construction of 625 miles of second track, the cost of laying which is much less than the cost of first track. The cost of laying this second line track alongside of the track already constructed cost the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, in 1919, $82,884 per mile, and yet the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, is contending before the Court that on the valuation of the Interstate Commerce Commission the limit of valuation of its track in North Carolina, considering first and second lines, should be $36,504 per mile.

About the time that the State was valuing the property of the Southern Railway Company at $96,306,000, this company appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission in a petition to the Commission to allow an increase of freight

and passenger rates. In this showing before the Interstate Commerce Commission at this very time when the State valued its property, the Southern Railway Company contended that from its investment account, its property should be valued at $111,308,323, and it contended that the actual value of its property in North Carolina was in excess of this amount, and should be estimated by the Interstate Commerce Commission in excess of this amount when the Commission should fix a tariff for freight and passenger traffic.

He who comes into a Court of Equity, must come with clean hands, with a consistent plea. He cannot be allowed to contradict himself to his own advantage. The location of the Court cannot change the law and the facts. He who asks equity, must do equity in Washington as well as in North Carolina. With what measure he metes to himself in Washington, it should be measured to him again in North Carolina.

There was a tribunal in the City of Washington to consider the value of the Plaintiff's property for the purpose of fixing the tariff which should be allowed to the Plaintiff, upon the people of North Carolina, just as the State Tax Commission in Raleigh, and just as this Court must consider the value of the Plaintiff's property as determined by the tariff that it can levy upon the people of North Carolina, and the tariff that the people of North Carolina can levy upon it. It does not signify that these tribunals do not sit in the same building, and in the same city. They are both constituted—that court and this high court—for one ultimate purpose, and that is, to do justice between the carriers and the people; and when this Plaintiff was asking and receiving from that court in Washington the power to levy a tariff predicated on a value of $111,000,000, it is estopped in good conscience in this Court to say that the limit of value in this State is $59,904,438.

Whatsoever things you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them.

This is no arbitrary law, but the expression of the law that pervades all nature, all life, the law of order and civilization, of progress and of liberty; the law of our being and

all our social relations, and growth and strength. It was announced by the Highest Chancellor from the Highest Court of Equity. I invoke that law when Your Honors shall pass judgment between the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, and the people of North Carolina.

In accordance with this contention of the Plaintiff before the Interstate Commerce Commission, it was allowed the power to exact from the people of North Carolina a 25 per cent increase in freight rates, and 20 per cent increase in passenger rates.

If this Court should adopt the valuation which the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, contends for, and the method suggested by the company, the value of the company's property on a basis of 6 per cent would be $43,429 per mile. On a basis of gross earnings it would be $47,534 per mile. This, against the Company's own statement that its secondary track in 1919 cost more than $82,000 a mile, and against its solemn statement before the Interstate Commerce Commission that its property in North Carolina was worth more than $111,000,000.

How can it expect this Court to exercise its "transcendent and extraordinary power, to be used sparingly and only in a clear and plain case," in the face of these glaring contradictions?

But the Company contends that if the capitalization method is to be used it should be on a basis of 8 per cent. On this basis, considering secondary tracks in North Carolina the Plaintiff's property in this State would be valued at $53,460,995 or $32,578 a mile.

If this process of shrinkage in value continue, the stern metaphor of the camel and the needle's eye will not debar the Southern Railway from the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Plaintiffs all, I believe, complain that the horizontal reduction made in the value of lands in North Carolina by the Board of Review, should be applied to their property to effect the uniform taxation provided for by the Constitution. But we respectfully submit that the landed property of North

Carolina and the transportation property of North Carolina are not at all similar in their functions, and that their value is not affected by the same causes and that the increase or decrease in the value of one does not logically necessitate the increase or decrease of the value of the other.

In 1919 and 1920 farm products were abnormally high—higher than ever before in the history of the country. When they fell in value, "a priori," land fell in value. Land is worth what it will produce. Land that produces corn worth $2.00 a bushel, cotton worth 40 cents a pound, tobacco worth $1.00 a pound, is of more value than land that produces these staples today, worth one-third of the former market price. The decrease in the value of land is much more in proportion than the decrease in the value of its products, for the higher value of the products carries the profits. On the same reasoning the value of a Transportation Company is determined not by the value of the merchandise that it carries, but by the rate of carriage. It is worth today as much to the Plaintiffs and more to carry a bale of cotton worth $80.00 than it was in 1919 to carry a bale of cotton worth $160.00. While cotton has fallen in value, the freight rate has been increased 25 per cent.

When the land fell in value "non sequitur" that the value of railroad property fell. The causes that brought down the value of the farm did not apply to the railroad.

And there are no such fluctuations in transportation tariffs as there are in the market prices of farm products. We do not know what the price of cotton will be next year, not even what it will be tomorrow, but we know with reasonable certainty what freight rates will be. And in the future, as in the past, tribunals established by law will maintain these rates for the just remuneration of the common carriers of the country.

It was eminently just and fair that the assessment of the farms should be reduced in 1921, and it would be equally unjust and unfair to reduce the railroad property in 1921.

If there be one stable value in all the country, it is the value of the property of the common carriers, upheld and pro-

vided for by administrative power, and by the all-pervasive and supreme law of commerce. They are sustained by the law that correlates commerce and supplies with the elements of life all portions of civilization.

Until the structure of our society changes, the products of industry will flow along the lines of the Plaintiffs in volume increasing with the enlightened energy of mankind—as inevitably as the rivers carry their waters to the sea—in obedience to that law of human association and human progress, in its benevolence and power like unto the law that was revealed in the Apocalypse of Newton, the law that orders the winds and the tides, the law that binds the sweet influences of Pleiades and guides Arcturus and his sons.

The Plaintiffs further contend that the franchise or privilege tax imposed by the State is in truth an ad valorem tax, in violation of Section 3, Article V, of the Constitution, and of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It is clear, in consideration of the history of the Revenue Act of 1921, that Sub-Section (3½) of Section 82 does not apply to the railroads; that Sub-Section (6½) of Section 82 levied and intended to levy the tax of one-tenth of one per cent on the assessed value of railroad property in North Carolina as a privilege for doing an interstate commerce business.

It is apparent that Sub-Section (3½) fixing the measure of the privilege tax of certain corporations by one-half of the capital stock, is dealing with corporations other than railroad corporations. The whole tenor of this Sub-Section shows this. Sub-Section (3½) was in the Act of 1920, just as it is now in the Act of 1921. Sub-Section (6½) in the Act of 1920 was numbered 78. It was brought forward and numbered (6½) and made a Sub-Section of Section 82, while Sub-Section (3½) was allowed to remain just as it was in 1920.

Instead of measuring this privilege tax by gross earnings per mile, as heretofore, the new measurement in accordance with the value of the property in the State was adopted.

We must conclude that the Legislature intended to levy

this privilege tax on the business of intrastate commerce, and not on interstate commerce. To assume that the tax was levied on interstate commerce would assume that the General Assembly passed an unconstitutional law, when the history of this legislation shows, and the legal inference is, that it passed a constitutional law in accordance with its power.

It was certainly within the power of the Legislature to measure this privilege tax on intrastate commerce by the value of all the property of the carrier in this State engaged in intrastate commerce.

This contention is expressly decided in favor of the State in the case of St. Louis, etc., Railway Company v. Arkansas, 235 U. S., page 350.

In this Arkansas case, the privilege tax was based "solely upon the portion of outstanding capital stock of the corporation represented by property owned and used in business transacted in this State."

In the brief of counsel for the State of Arkansas, there is cited a long list of authorities sustaining this position.

And in United States Glue Company v. Oak Creek, 247 U. S., page 326, Mr. Justice Pitney, speaking for the Court, says:

"But property in a State belonging to a corporation, whether foreign or domestic, engaged in foreign or interstate commerce, may be taxed, or a tax may be imposed on the corporation on account of its property within the State, and may take the form of a tax for the privilege of exercising its franchise within the State if the ascertainment of the amount is made dependent in fact on the value of its property situated within the State (the exaction therefrom not being susceptible of exceeding the sum which might be leviable directly thereon) and if payment be not made a condition precedent to the right to carry on business, but its enforcement left to the ordinary means devised for the collection of taxes."

The statute of North Carolina, 82 (6½) levies a privilege tax on railroads and measures that tax by the value of rail-

road property within the State. This is almost identical with the statute of the State of Arkansas, and passed upon by the Supreme Court in the case of St. Louis, etc., Railway Company v. Arkansas, supra. The Supreme Court in that case refused to hold the Arkansas statute unconstitutional on the ground that it could not assume that the Legislature of Arkansas intended in any way to levy a tax on interstate commerce, as that would be beyond the power of the Legislature. But the Supreme Court took the view that the Legislature of Arkansas acted within its rights, and levied a privilege tax on the intrastate traffic. In our case there is no disposition, no contention, to levy any tax upon interstate commerce, but on intrastate commerce. It is practically the same statute that has been in effect for many years. To hold that our statute is unconstitutional would be in conflict with the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Arkansas case; in the Glue Company case; in Maine v. Grand Trunk Railway, 142 U. S., 217; United States Express Company v. Minnesota, 223 U. S., 347; and many other cases cited in these opinions.

In Postal Telegraph Cable Company v. Adams, 155 U. S., 688, the Court says a tax is not obnoxious to the commerce clause merely because imposed upon property used in interstate commerce, even if it takes the form of a tax for the privilege of exercising its franchise within the State.

When the State Tax Commission, in obedience to the law, valued for taxation the property of the Plaintiffs, we must assume that the Commission acted in accordance with the statute, and performed its duty according to law, until the contrary be shown to the Court. This point is decided in Illinois Central Railroad Company v. Greene, 244 U. S., 556.

We must conclude according to the Supreme Court of the United States in this last cited case, unless the contrary appear, that the Tax Commission considered "the actual cost of replacing the property with a just allowance for depreciation on rolling stock, and also of other conditions to be considered in case of private property."

We must conclude, unless the contrary be shown to the

Court, that the Tax Commission obeyed the law which prescribes that it "shall then assess the value of the franchise, which shall be determined by due consideration of the gross earnings as compared with the operating expenses, and particularly by consideration of the value placed upon the whole property by the public." And we must conclude that, in accordance with the proviso of Section 65 of the Machinery Act, the Tax Commission, in valuing the fixed property in this State, gave due consideration to the character of the roadbed and fixed equipment, number of miles of double track, the amount of gross and net earnings per mile of road in this State, and any other factor which would give greater or less value per mile of road in this State than the average value for the entire system.

But the Plaintiff, Southern Railway Company, complains that neither the State Tax Commission, nor the Revenue Commissioner, advised it as to the amount at which its tangible property was assessed, and the amount at which its intangible property was assessed. But on page 25 of its complaint, there is the statement: "The Commissioner of Revenue, the Plaintiff is advised, believes, and hence states, assessed as the total value of Plaintiff's property the sum of $78,778,169, and to this he added the intangible or franchise value, the sum of $17,528,188, making a total assessment for ad valorem purposes of $96,306,357." The statute does not require that the Tax Commission should notify the Plaintiffs of these different values and we cannot see how this failure, if there was any failure, to notify the Plaintiffs should affect them in any way. The tangible and the intangible are both assessed in the same way, and taxed at the same rate. The proviso added to Section 65 of the Machinery Act makes it the duty of that tribunal, assessing the property of the Plaintiff, to take all elements into consideration in assessing both the tangible and intangible property.

If the Tax Commission assessed the whole property as provided in Section 64, and then deducted therefrom the value of the physical property, we see no benefit that this process

conferred upon the Plaintiffs, for Section 64 further provides that the Tax Commission shall add together these two values to ascertain the aggregate of the tangible and intangible property—the same result that it started with. We fail to see how this arithmetical exercise of subtraction and addition should give the Plaintiff any right of equitable relief.

It is not alleged in these complaints, that there was any design on the part of the Tax Commission to defraud the Plaintiffs. It is not alleged that there was any understanding expressed or implied between the different taxing tribunals by which the property of the Plaintiffs should be overestimated, and the property of the other taxbearers underestimated.

There was an honest and an earnest effort by the Legislature and by the taxing authorities, to revalue the property of North Carolina in justice to all, in fairness to all, and in accordance with our obligations as a people and as a State. The Tax Commission obeyed in all things the statute, considered the property of Plaintiffs by all methods prescribed by law, pronounced an honest judgment. That judgment was reviewed and approved by the Commissioner of Revenue.

But, in addition to all this, the General Assembly of 1919 did not direct nor empower the State Tax Commission, nor the taxing authorities to assess for taxation the railroad property and other property of the State, but this General Assembly did direct and empower the State Tax Commission and the taxing authorities to re-assess all of the property of North Carolina at its true value, and submit those values to the Special Session of the General Assembly called for 1920. After the greatest publicity, and after long and careful consideration by all of the taxing authorities in North Carolina, the railroad property and other property was revalued as set forth in the complaints. The General Assembly of 1920 met, and although it was known by probably every intelligent citizen of the State, that these tax values would be passed upon by this Assembly, the assessment recommended by the State Tax Commission and other taxing authorities of the State was approved and ratified by the General Assembly, and

the General Assembly by a solemn statute enacted that these values should be the basis of taxation for the State for the succeeding four years. I do not believe that there was a dissenting vote. Certainly these Plaintiffs did not protest nor object.

This Court is now asked to strike down the judgment of the State Tax Commission and by its decree to annul an Act of the General Assembly.

Let us remember that just taxation depends upon the equitable and relative value placed upon all the property of the State. We have seen how, by the large increase in the value of real estate, the proportion of the burden borne by the railroads has been decreased, and the proportion of the burden borne by the real estate has been increased, and this is so notwithstanding the horizontal reduction of the real estate. The horizontal reductions in the sixty-seven counties does not seriously affect the proportion. These reductions did not average over 20 per cent at most while the value of all land had been increased 20 per cent. The reductions were greater in the territory of the Coast Line and the value of this Plaintiff's property was increased only 40 per cent.

The fear that hereafter the railroads may pay more taxes than they have heretofore paid, cannot justify this proceeding any more than the hundreds of thousands of landowners would be justified to resist their taxes because of an increase. If the State needs the revenue, the wealth of the State is sufficient, and the legitimate purposes of government should be supplied. There rests upon us the supreme obligation of a just, resourceful and prosperous people.

The fact that in the opinion of these Plaintiffs their assessments are too high, does not justify them. Though it might be the opinion of this enlightened tribunal that the property of the Plaintiffs was over-assessed, this would be no justification for this injunction. Differences of opinion always occur, and unless this Court shall find that there was some scheme

or plan or conspiracy by the taxing authorities of the State to discriminate against the Plaintiffs, this injunction must be denied.

The Supreme Court of the United States said in Chicago Railway Company v. Babcock, 204 U. S., 585: "A point less pressed than the foregoing was that the other property in the State was greatly undervalued, and that thus the rule of uniformity prescribed by the Constitution had been violated. Upon this matter it is enough to say that no scheme or agreement on the part of the County Assessors who taxed the other property was shown, or on the part of the Board of Equalization and Assessment." And the Court said: "We have nothing to do with complaints of that nature, or with anything else than fraud or a clear adoption of a fundamentally wrong principle."

Coulter v. Louisville & Nashville Ry. Co., 196 U. S., 599;
L. & N. Ry. Co. v. Greene, 244 U. S., 536;
State Railroad Tax Cases, 92 U. S., 610;
Pittsburgh, etc., R. R. Co. v. Backus, 154 U. S., 421.

As stated above, these Plaintiffs do not allege any fraud or scheme or disposition or intention by the taxing authorities of the State of North Carolina, and none could be truthfully alleged, and yet they ask this Court to exercise the extraordinary power of the chancellors to halt the program of the State, and interfere with the administration of our government.

In the language of the Supreme Court in the Ohio Tax Cases, 232 U. S., 576: "The present act does not on its face manifest a purpose to interfere with interstate commerce, and we are unable to accept the historical facts alluded to as sufficient evidence of a sinister purpose, such as would justify this Court in striking down the law. We could not do this without in effect denouncing the Legislature of the State as guilty of a conscious attempt to evade the obligations of the

Federal Constitution." That is what these Plaintiffs are asking of this Court. If the State, by an unconstitutional statute or if her officials by any unlawful and sinister methods, have attempted to dispoil these Plaintiffs under the forms of law, then they should be commanded to stop to our discredit and humiliation.

We earnestly submit that there is no justification for this injunction, no jurisdiction for it in the law or in equity.

We have an abiding regard for the welfare of the Plaintiffs. They are essential and integral elements of our life and progress. They are manned and controlled by men of patriotism and great ability. It is for this reason more to be regretted that, as we contend for reasons totally unjustifiable and at variance with the law and the facts, they have placed themselves in antagonism to the authorities of the State, for the welfare of none. We have the greatest respect for their able counsel, but when examined in the light of facts and law and equity, their case is a case of "shreds and patches."

We live in a time of larger conception and higher ideals. The Great War convulsed the world with desolation, and woe, but it awakened the conscience of men, and enlisted all classes and conditions in universal fellowship of self-denial and sacrifice, even unto the Supreme Sacrifice. It enlarged and sanctified our conceptions of human relations, and human obligation. It extended the frontiers of our patriotism and sympathy to the frontiers of humanity; for we realized that Nations and the Oppressed of Nations are too of our tribe and kindred. We sent two million of our sons across a thousand leagues of sea to unfurl a star-lit Flag for the emancipation and for the redemption of mankind. It was the altruism of a mighty race, grown militant.

Let this awakened spirit of altruism move with quickening power for the homeland.

Our Governor has sounded the clear, strong note of the new day. With faith and courage he has called the Old North State to the front line of advancing civilization for the greatest accomplishment of her history. He has put to silence the

prophets of pessimism, the conservitors of stagnation. The people have responded with the pulsations and with the enthusiasm of the Great Age. Even today the landholders are paying of their necessities the increased taxes for the larger public good. They are the bulwarks of the State. They are the heirs, loyal and lineal, of the "Embattled Farmers" of Guilford Court House. These Plaintiffs alone obstruct and resist. "They alone break from the Van and the Freemen."

We have the abiding faith that this magnificent conception and program will not be deranged and crippled by a judgment of this Court, that the orderly processes of government will not be discredited, nor the confidence of the people therein be shaken by uncertainty and distrust.

With victorious assurance let us do the task of our time, in the hope that our children may come to the realization of the "Golden Age of which poets have sung, and high-raised seers have told in metaphor."

BISHOP KILGO

(June 21st, 1922)

NOTE: The farewell to the members of the National Army was Governor Craig's last public speech. He has from time to time, however, been heard through the press. Of Bishop Kilgo he wrote the following tribute:

"Bishop Kilgo is, in my opinion, the greatest preacher of the age. I have heard many powerful men. Bishop Wilson was a man of tremendous force, moving and exalting; Dr. J. L. Curry was a cyclone, sweeping all with eloquence and power. George Truitt is a wonder. He stirs great congregations and makes strong men tremble and weep with emotion.

"I have heard Talmadge, Dr. Hawthorne and other preachers and platform speakers of world reputation, but, at his best, I rank Bishop Kilgo first of all. I have heard him many times and he always had fine thought and eloquence of original grand conception. On one occasion I heard him at his best, and had I not heard him then I would never have known him. That was before he was Bishop.

"The General Conference was held that year in Tennessee and many preachers passed through Asheville on their way home, Dr. Charles Wesley Byrd among them, a rising star of first magnitude in Methodism. He and Dr. Kilgo were considered rivals in this section.

"There had been a contention between the late Colonel J. P. Kerr and myself as to who was the greater, Byrd or Kilgo. Colonel Kerr was a man of the finest ability and character. He had to be known to be appreciated.

"On one Saturday he came to me and told me that Charles Wesley Byrd would stop over and preach here tomorrow and he wanted me to go and hear him—saying he was 'loaded' and would unlimber his biggest gun. I told him that I would go with him, and that I had seen the announcement that Dr. Kilgo would preach here Sunday night and that we must go to hear him, too—'all right.'

"Dr. Byrd was then in the full maturity and enjoyment of his physical and intellectual strength. He had attained to his best. He took as his text: 'If ye have not the spirit of Christ ye are none of His.' He made a masterly deliverance—strong and earnest in its appeal to the mind and conscience, moving to nobler conceptions of life and religion.

"That night Dr. Kilgo stood upon the same platform and drolled out his text: 'If ye have not the spirit of Christ ye are none of His.' He did not know that Dr. Byrd had used this text.

"For two hours, crescendo, Dr. Kilgo unfolded with logic and eloquence his inspiring theme. He had no limitation of creed or dogma. Emancipated from all theologics, free as an angel, with glowing metaphor and intellectual daring he swept into realms of subtle and sublime thought. In the rapt vision of a seer he spoke like a prophet sent from God—His minister plenipotentiary to deliver His ultimatum to the world—the message of infinite love and divine redemption.

"As Colonel Kerr and I walked out I asked him what did he think of that. He replied: 'Of course, nobody else can preach that way.'

"As to forms and dogmas, Bishop Kilgo appears to be orthodox after the straitest sect. When he gives expression in his big, original way, to some dogma of the mediaeval councils the benches of the clericals and deacons resound with 'Amen' and sanctimonious groans. With thankfulness they hear the enunciation of traditions—tottering with age—by this great thinker and preacher who speaks with authority and not as the Scribes.

"The finest funeral sermon I ever heard was by Dr. Kilgo on Charles B. Aycock. He loved Aycock as one fine spirit loves another. Aycock had defended him in his famous trial and the severest ordeal of his life—Gattis vs. Kilgo—unequaled, certainly never surpassed in our forsenic history. His enemies sought to compass his destruction. Cy Watson led the prosecution, the trained gladiator of the forum, endowed with humor, logic, powerful invective—all the prowess of the master. Aycock, the defender of Kilgo—Aycock was

in the full enjoyment of the majesty of his manhood—intellect like the Scimitar of Saladin—gifted with eloquence and resistless persuasion.

"When he closed his speech, Kilgo threw his arms around him, pressed him to his bosom, weeping with profound and grateful emotion.

"Now Aycock was dead. The eloquent lips were hushed in the pale repose. When the funeral cortege entered the church, Dr. Kilgo, with a large group of distinguished ministers, occupied the platform, Kilgo the conspicuous and central figure. He stood like a fine marble statue, unmoved, with fixed gaze, beholding the eternal mystery. Yet in form and chiseled feature and eye expressive of the awe and bereavement of a State mourning for her best beloved son. He presented a worthy conception of Aycock. He had felt and he knew the pulsations of the heart of his dead friend. He told of his princely personality, his passion for justice and truth, his fellowship and sympathy for men, the qualities that made him the trusted and idolized leader, the preacher of the new Gospel of universal enlightenment and liberation.

"Dr. Kilgo, in my opinion, in his younger days, was unbending in his own convictions and his determination to enforce them—aggressive—an autocrat—intolerant of opposition. Opposition to him was heresy. Had he lived in the days of priestly power he would have persecuted the heretics.

"But he is not a Pharisee, not a Levite, withal he is a priest after the order of Melchisedeck."

GOVERNOR CRAIG has now for some months been ill at his home near the Swannanoa River attended constantly by his devoted wife and little son, Locke Craig, Jr. Crowds of friends and admirers visit him in his home, and draw from his presence the inspiration of old. He receives them all in his ever gracious spirit of friendship, and never turns a deaf ear to the unfortunate. The beautiful example of his patience in suffering doubly endears him to all his people, and the lesson he is giving them is more eloquent than speech.

—M.F.J.